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THE WORLD WORKERS

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

PSEUDO-SOCIALISM AT THE POLLS. A RECORD OF FUTILE TRICKERY.

Pseudo-Socialism has been hopelessly routed at the polls. So much the better for Socialism. The pseudo-Socialist as a rule, comes into the field with a long

REVOLUTIONARY REPUTATION,

as one who has "fought and bled" for the cause. His presence in the political arena is a source of incalculable injury to the cause of working-class emancipation, for he is necessarily the propagandist of confusion, obscuring the issue, making travesty of the very principles upon the clear understanding of which alone can the proletariat move forward to their freedom, and leading the worker to say in disgust, "If this burlesque of inconsistency, contradiction and obvious fraud is Socialism,

I'LL HAVE NONE OF IT."

In the recent election four such candidates were before the workers—Hyndman, Grayson, Shaw, and Irving—who discarded what they called the "treacherous and unsound Labour Party" in order to try their luck as avowed Socialist (!) candidates at Burnley, Kennington, Battersea and Rochdale respectively.

Mr. Hyndman had been the quasi-Socialist candidate for Burnley for a great many years, a period broken only by his withdrawal in the 1900 election because the Liberal nominee was opposed to the South African war. With this exception he has nursed the constituency since 1896, playing the political weather-cock game with the best of them. He turned with every breeze that blew, until one grew giddy with watching him. The

INEVITABLE HAS HAPPENED.

The S.D.P. policy at this election was to vote Tory. In their official organ, *Justice*, for Dec. 24th last, in a leading article entitled "The Socialist Vote," appeared the following:

"In accordance with their instructions at the Easter Conference: 'To organise and direct the vote of the Party in its best interests according to exigencies of time and place,' the S.D.P. Executive urged the Socialist electors to 'turn your votes against the men in office.'"

Then the article goes on to show that the membership of the Party was so hopelessly confused on this "clear" issue that the result was really laughable. "At Ashton-under-Lynn," the confusionist organ says, "Birkenhead, South Salford, Darwen, North Islington, West St. Pancras, Cardiff and Plymouth, the Tories wrested seats from the Liberals, and in these cases it is evident that the balancing power was the Social-Democratic vote and that the lead of the Executive was followed. . . . At East Bradford a few of our voters went Liberal, but they mostly abstained. At Northampton the Socialist vote of January went

MORE LIBERAL THAN TORY.

. . . At Exeter for special local reasons, our

comrades voted Liberal and the Tories lost the seat."

A marvellous policy, to be sure, supporting capitalist Tweedledum in order to kill capitalist Tweedledee. In the same article those who abstained from voting are stamped hopeless Anarchists in the following terms:

"In such cases the Socialist voter counts himself out—he refuses to play any hand in the game—he stands outside—quite unwittingly he adopts the rôle of the Anarchist. It is quite true and fitting that we should vehemently declare—'A plague on both your houses.' Yet it is quite consistent with that spirit to kill them off one after the other. In fact it is hardly conceivable that they could be polished off simultaneously. . . . the Liberals are our worst enemies; they adopt our colours, even our language, travesty our ideas, and hold the place which, but for them,

WE SHOULD OCCUPY.

At West Bromwich the S.D.P. branch paraded to the polling booth to show that they intended to abstain! . . . There is no chance for us so long as the Liberal Party can hold the field."

Events have proved that this attitude of confusion disgusted very many late supporters of the S.D.P. in Burnley and Rochdale. In the former division Hyndman lost 1,200 votes, and each of the other candidates increased his vote by over 500. It is not too much to hope that many of the others abstained from voting as a consequence of our enlightening propaganda in the division.

During the election campaign the Tories published and distributed broadcast, a Tariff Reform pamphlet written by one Ernest Marklew. Mr. Marklew is a prominent member of the Burnley S.D.P., and was Hyndman's principal speaker. As for Mr. Marklew's pamphlet, it was published by the "Enemies of the Red Flag," 269, King Street, Hammersmith—a fact which may have helped Mr. Hyndman to drop many former supporters who, imagining him to stand

FOR THE RED FLAG,

were surprised and disgusted at the company he keeps.

Hyndman baited his trap with "Abolition of the House of Lords" and "Reversal of the Osborne Judgment,"—which shows his striking originality. He linked Revolution and reform together, after the manner of his tribe, claiming on the one hand that "all the great means of creating and distributing wealth shall be owned and controlled by the people at large. Thus alone can 'bad times' be abolished and poverty be finally swept away," and demanding on the other hand all the old nostrums, even down to Home Rule for Ireland, as "the most important stepping-stones towards complete social reorg-

anisation."

Alas! "when the fight was over" he said farewell for ever to his Burnley worshippers in a speech in which tragedy and comedy were strangely intermingled. "When one considers," he said, "the miserable education of the masses one must realise that they had still a long way to drive. You will have to add my name to those who did not realise

THAT FOR WHICH THEY STROVE."

Poor old chap! He had boasted so of the rising class-consciousness of the Burnley workers, and now they had given him a slump of 1,200, their appalling ignorance overwhelmed him, and he folded his traps and crept silently away.

The magnificent optimist with the hump! Irving at Rochdale also ran on the hotch-potch programme of the S.D.P. As in the case of Hyndman, every twig was bird-limed, while the snarling piped his allurements with consummate art, only to prove the truth of the S.D.P.'s admission that pseudo-Socialism cannot grapple with Liberalism. We are adding Irving's name to those who will not realise that for which they strive.

Victor Grayson's candidature was not only a pseudo-Socialist one, but also a bogus one. Hyndman and Irving at least were backed by an organisation, but even his own Party, the I.L.P., who paid his salary while he sat in Parliament,

REFUSED TO SUPPORT

Grayson's candidature.

He opened his campaign with the now "historical speech on the conversion of his comrade Lloyd George to Socialism. Speaking at the Wheatsheaf Hall, South Lambeth Road, on Nov. 26th he said: "When I read Mr. Lloyd George's speech I cheered. I said to myself, 'You're a late convert, but you've arrived!' I made that speech myself. The arrangement and illustrations used have been common places of the Socialist platform for twenty years past."

Grayson's address appealed to everybody. To the workers because he wanted to go to Parliament "to speak for the dumb mass of poverty and helplessness which cannot speak for itself"; to the Liberals because he believes in the fulfilment of the Radical promise of a free breakfast table and stands for the abolition of the House of Lords. To Conservatives he appealed on the grounds that "your order and liberties are protected by State

POLICEMEN, SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

Next year the telephones are going to be taken over by the State. Your pavements, roads, drains, street lighting and sanitary service are maintained by your public authority. . . . In Germany there is much more State Socialism than here. What you must demand is not less Socialism but more; so Grayson is your choice."

The author of that passage should go to Tony

pandy and tell the miners there that the police and soldiers are a bit of Socialism, and he would learn what they think.

It is very clear that Mr. Charles Shaw was only put forward by the S.D.P. at Battersea for the purpose of keeping John Burns out. The E.C. of that Party issued a manifesto asking the workers of Battersea to vote for Shaw. During the election of 1900 the E.C. of the S.D.P. sent one of their number, Mr. Jack Jones, to assist Burns because he was opposed to the South African War. Yet he was then, according to their own statements, as much a traitor as he is now.

In the course of his election campaign Mr. Shaw said, "Mr. Burns was once a Socialist, and now we regard him as a renegade, though I believe he is still intellectually a Socialist."

If the fact that Burns is a renegade is a fit reason for the S.D.P. opposing him now, then it condemns them for supporting him in 1900, for they themselves declare that Burns became a renegade more than sixteen years ago.

Although Shaw brought forward all the fashionable reforms, he only succeeded in catching four hundred or so votes, while the filthy methods of the S.D.P. worked wonders for Burns. He trebled his majority and laughed at the S.D.P., and all world laughed with him.

The foregoing facts demonstrate sufficiently that the emancipation of the working class cannot be the work of individuals, of the like of Hyndman, Grayson and Shaw, but that it must be the work of the workers themselves, organised as a class, on a basis of class-consciousness, clean and free from political intriguing and compromise, winning on toward the Social Revolution, as their one aim on the political field.

H. J. N.

THE ORGANISER'S CHIN-WAG.

Comrades, we have left another year behind us—a very satisfactory year with regard to the growth of the Party, and the increase of its militant power. All concerned may feel pleased with themselves at the strides the Party, and therefore the Cause, has made during the past twelve months. Not only has our membership increased, but our propaganda has been carried on extensively and with splendid vigour. We have done very well, too, with our literature. The new pamphlet has made a decided impression, and the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* is no longer a nursing, but supports itself.

Enough of the past. Our hopes lie in the future—let us turn our eyes there.

The "Standard," I was saying is self-supporting. This however does not mean that we can take a rest. As our organisation grows larger, our Party Organ must inevitably have other duties than those of a mere propagandist journal thrust more and more upon it. It must serve internal purposes, as well as external. This, of course, means enlargement. Well, that is what we've got to tackle now, comrades: an enlarged "S.S." Is it necessary to say that it must be based on an increased circulation?

Who is the best propagandist in the Party? Why, the "S.S." Hitherto he has only been a little chap, but he has been very eloquent and very convincing. Now he feels that he could do better work if he were bigger, and he wants to grow. Let's give him a chance. O.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. Cook (Bramley, Leeds)—1. No such statement appeared in the "Socialist Standard."

2. The person you refer to was a member of our Party, and as such assisted in the production of our Party organ. Some time ago he resigned from the Party, and we know nothing of any alleged relations of his with the individual you refer to.

3. The 18th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labour, U.S.A. is one authority for the statement.

4. It is not as you appear to think, a matter of "two revolutionary forces divided over the question of industrial organisation." This Party is a Socialist party whereas the S.L.P. is not. That this is the case may be seen from the article on the subject in our August '06 issue.

THE "INDEPENDENT" COALITION.

SEEKING some explanation to give their deluded followers, of the disastrous results, to the Labour Party, of the General Election of Jan. '10, both Mr. Peters (national agent) and Philip Snowden stated that the Labour candidates had been run on programmes so like the Liberals that "it was too much to expect the ordinary man in the street to distinguish between them." Exactly. And the same occurred in the last election.

Thus Mr. Stanley (N.W. Staffs.) fought the election "almost solely on the issue of the House of Lords" ("Manchester Guardian," 10.12.10). Mr. Frank Goldstone (Sunderland) said "Sunderland had driven the longest and biggest nail into the old and worn-out coffin of Toryism" (same paper, 7.12.10). Mr. Walsh (Ince) put his case plainly: "That Veto of the Lords must go; that to him was the supreme issue" (Ibid.). Mr. Seddon and Mr. T. Glover (Newton and St. Helens respectively), according to the same journal, placed one issue before the electors—"Whether the Peers shall rule or the people." Etc., etc.

Desperate efforts are constantly being made to hide the awkward fact that persists in showing itself, namely, that the Labour Party are but Liberal decoy ducks. In this election, as in the two previous ones, the difficulty is to make a selection from the enormous mass of evidence.

Some of the candidates were especially favoured. Mr. Lansbury had Mr. Lloyd George advising the Liberals in Bow and Bromley to support him. An election sheet, "The Worker," issued in Mr. Lansbury's interest, contained the following:

"The Liberal Party has stood for the abolition of the breakfast-table duties all these years . . . and so we confidently appeal to every Liberal to support our candidate in his campaign for taxing the rich instead of the poor."

One wonders what the Liberals have been doing with large and small majorities that they have not abolished these duties "all these years." The sheet does not tell us. Instead it informs us that among others the Nonconformists, headed by the Revs. Hayes and Tiplady, with the Bow and Bromley Progressive Club, were supporting Mr. Lansbury.

In S. West Ham Mr. Will Thorne, performing his "delicate and difficult task"—as H. W. Lee once called it—of pleasing everybody, pledged himself, through the various organisations he belongs to, to secular education, the workers' interests, the class war, etc. And the "Daily Chronicle" of Dec. 3rd advised the electorate to poll up a bumper, and tell us "he has the support of ministers of religion, of employers of labour, of tradesmen, and of all classes."

At Gorton, Lancashire, Mr. John Hodge was the selected of the Liberal Party—under the Labour label. On Dec. 7th the Gorton Liberal Assn. passed this resolution: "It is unanimously resolved that we recommend the Liberals of the Gorton Parliamentary Division to cast their votes and use their influence so as to secure the return of the Progressive candidate, Mr. John Hodge, at the forthcoming election." ("Manchester Guardian," Dec. 10.) No alliance, you see!

Last Jan. Mr. Stanton Coit contested the Wakefield division with the help of the Liberals, but did not win the seat. So a change was tried this time, and with success. After the poll Mr. Marshall "thanked his Labour and Irish friends as well as the Liberals," says the "Manchester Guardian," Dec. 6th.

In similar words Sir Wilfred Lawson, who had to face a Labour Party candidate last Jan., but was this time supported by that party, referred to his victory at Cockerham. "He thanked his Liberal friends and especially his friends of the Labour Party, who had been true to themselves." (Manchester Guardian, 5.12.10.) Agreed.

Philip Snowden had a real live lord to assist him. Lord Morley spoke in his favour at a large meeting of business men says the "Daily Chronicle," 3rd Dec., and evidently his advice was taken, for Snowden was placed above his fellow Liberal. The two candidates advised the electors to support both the Liberals. ("Manchester Guardian," 2.12.10.)

"H."—Snowden—"and Sir Henry Norman have worked closely together on their different platforms" remarks the same paper on the 5th, while next day it reports Sir Henry Norman as saying, after the poll, "The result was an almost unparalleled example of political co-operation."

Snowden, of course, was ready to pay the price. Of the Liberal candidate for Darwen he said, according to the "Manchester Guardian" of Dec. 5, "Mr. Hindle had given quite exceptional attention to his duties. He hardly knew of another member who had been so assiduous . . . If he had a vote in the Darwen district he would not have the slightest hesitation in giving it to Mr. Hindle."

"Although a ballot last week showed a substantial majority in favour of the local Labour Party again contesting the seat, the Executive Committee of the Party have decided . . . that on this occasion no candidate shall be nominated." ("Manchester Guardian," 2.12.10.) On the other contemporary said "the solid mass of the Labour vote is almost certain to be given to the Liberal candidate." Quite simple, isn't it?

"The Executive Council of the St. Helens Liberal Assn. yesterday unanimously passed a resolution calling upon all Liberals in this great crisis to support their party by giving their votes for the Progressive candidate, Mr. T. Glover for St. Helens and Mr. J. A. Seddons for the Newton division." ("Manchester Guardian," 2.12.10.) It did not help Glover and Seddons that they were Progressives as well as Labour Party candidates—they were defeated.

Our Manchester contemporary for Dec. 3rd, said "The Labour vote in the Eccles division will be cast for Sir George Pollard (Liberal), a meeting of the Emergency Committee having decided . . . to issue posters asking Labour electors to vote for him." On the last occasion he was opposed by G. H. Stuart, of the Labour Party. However, to prevent all the folly being on one side, "the Eccles Socialist Party have issued a manifesto calling upon all Labour men to vote against Sir H. Pollard, the Liberal candidate." ("Weekly Dispatch," 4.12.10.)

Was this society formerly a branch of the S.D.P.? If so its action is easily understood.

At Stockport the "one-and-one principle" so dear to the S.D.P. was successfully carried through. Mr. S. L. Hughes speaking in the Town Hall, Stockport, said, "My advice to every man who values his vote and values his position as a self-respecting free citizen in a free country is—vote for the two men who are against the Lords." ("Manchester Guardian," 28.11.10.)

The second of the "two men" was Mr. J. G. Wardle of the Labour Party, who, speaking at the Central Hall after the election, said, "The unity of the forces of Progress had also a great deal to do with the victory." (Ibid, 6.12.10.)

We are often told that we are dunces in "tactics." Here are some tactics from Manchester. Says the "Manchester Guardian" of Dec. 19, "The Liberal Council of the division has passed a resolution . . . strongly urging all Liberals to help Mr. Clynes to repeat his victory of ten months ago."

This is how he does it: "I have pledged from the beginning that as regards the education claim of the Catholic people I shall regard myself in the House of Commons, not as a delegate of a trade union, not as the mouth-piece of a trades congress, but as the representative of the Catholic electors of North East Manchester."

Good, from a man who is pledged (to those who pay him to look after their interests) to secular education. Tactics—all things to all men.

In the same issue of our Manchester contemporary were told that the Liberals held several meetings in East Manchester to discuss the veto question, the Irish question, and maintenance of Free Trade. "Recognising that on these vital questions Mr. Sutton, the Labour candidate, is entirely in sympathy with them, the Liberals of the division are working vigorously to ensure his return."

Space will not allow consideration of all the Labour Party's antics, but we may mention that in Altercliffe a "manifesto issued by the Liberal Council and signed by Mr. J. Wycliffe Wilson, advised all Liberals in this election to

vote for Mr. Pointer, the Progressive candidate." ("Manchester Guardian," 7.12.10.)

Mr. Pointer is a Labour Party candidate.

In Nuneaton the Labour candidate was Mr. Johnson, miners' agent. According to the "Manchester Guardian," 10.12.10, "Mr. Johnson had the old Liberal organisation at his back, carries the old colours, and directs his campaign from the offices of the Liberal Association."

What could be more independent? At Hanley "Mr. Edwards has the whole strength of the Liberal organisation behind him, and in his address he accepts the invitation to offer himself for re-election as coming from all the Progressives of the town, Liberal as well as Labour." ("Manchester Guardian," 7.12.10.)

Dr. Clifford, speaking from Mr. Thomas' platform at Derby, said "He was delighted to know that Labour and Liberalism in Derby were marching in step."

He forgot to say where they are marching to.

As we have pointed out already, the Labour Party are marching with the Liberal Party in the interests of the master class, and for the continued enslavement of the working class. When the latter realise this truth the Labour Party and its compacts with the enemy will be flung on the political muck-heap.

J. F. B.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.

To the Editor.

Sir,—I should like to say a few words on your pamphlet on "Socialism and Religion."

Passing over the origin of the latter, which all standard writers agree to be largely hypothetical, or based upon observations of the customs of modern savage tribes, I will come to page 18 of your brochure. Following a quotation from Marx's "Capital" you say: "It is, therefore, a profound truth that Socialism is the natural enemy of religion."

In the name of common sense why? Are we to delete the words "Thus saith the Lord," and substitute "Thus saith Marx"?

As a political economist Marx was, in my opinion, at the top, but in dealing with speculative subjects or in trying to prove a negative, he was no better than the rest of us. I claim to be alive to the true Socialist position, at the same time I possess strong religious sentiments being a firm believer in a future state of conscious existence. Can I prove a future existence? No, neither can I prove that Socialism is right; nor can any man living.

External Nature recognises no right but force. Man's conception of right is purely sentimental. He cannot prove this or that to be right, he merely thinks it is.

We can scientifically prove the workers are exploited, but we cannot scientifically prove they ought not to be exploited; we have been doing but a sentiment of right and justice to support us.

Neither the Socialist nor the anti-Socialist has a common standard of right to which he may appeal; consequently, the question resolves itself into a conflict of ideas, which proves conclusively that the whole subject is dominated by sentiment.

The difficulty of reaching a clear issue is greatly increased when we enter the realm of speculation. No one, I take it, can prove that there is a God; no one can demonstrate there is not. A belief in either direction is all that can exist; this being primarily due to the mental make-up of the individual, and secondly to his environment.

Belief and disbelief in what is termed the supernatural are probably as old as the human race, and with equal probability will continue so long as the race endures—or until such time as a future life can be scientifically demonstrated.

I am myself an earnest believer in Socialism, and in my own way do all I can to propagate its teaching; but if I felt that the establishment of Socialism would stifle free thought, I would in future leave it alone, for to me free thought does not mean merely thinking in opposition to religion, but thinking in favour of it should the individual be prompted to do so.

To argue that a man cannot be a Socialist and still retain belief in a God or a future life is to me utter nonsense, for the faculties used in consid-

ering the two conceptions are as distinct as those employed in studying mathematics and music. Socialism is a theory of a system of society, and is based upon an analysis of capitalist production. This analysis belongs to the science of political economy. Marx, though he opened fresh ground, did not found a new science.

To analyse capitalist production and scientifically prove that the workers are exploited is one thing; to scientifically prove they should not be is another. You cannot offer such proof; you can only believe they should not be exploited, therefore in this respect, you are on a par with the religionist—you believe; he believes.

The human brain is so complex that a vast proportion of the race, Socialists included, can think in terms of contradiction; to say they cannot is to affirm that every man thinks logically.

I have said Socialists included. Let me give you one example out of many I could name.

In every Socialist text-book you read, and from every Socialist platform you hear, that present day production is social. The absurdity of this statement never appears to strike writer, reader, speaker or hearer. It is obviously impossible to have social production under private ownership, yet this glaring contradiction is accepted without question by Socialists, and do they work less strenuously on account of such an absurd belief?

Therefore as Socialists can and do honestly think in terms of contradiction, why may not the religionist do the same?

Assuming the religious conception to be false, I claim that it is yet possible for the vast proportion of the human race to believe in it, without conflicting with any other conceptions which you might think at variance with it, or even in direct opposition to it. Introspective reasoning is always defective. "Because I cannot nobody else can" is bad logic. In short, it is not logic at all. Facts are what we require, and I assert—and unbiased investigation will prove the assertion to be true—that the great majority can harmonise their religious beliefs with the teaching of Socialism. To affirm the contrary is to fly in the face of facts. Further, they will still believe when Socialism is established, for the religious faculties are innate in mankind, and you can never destroy them.

Given a nation of atheists, and the first generation would see a revival of some form of religion. I know I am what is termed a Socialist, and consider myself qualified to prove it, even to the satisfaction of the Executive of S.P.G.B., yet, as I have said, I am a firm believer in a future life. In no way do the two conceptions conflict, and as an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory, so far as I am concerned, your contention is out of court.

What is true of me is true of the bulk of mankind. The institution of Socialism will not destroy religion; it will merely change its form, the power of religious conception being innate and indestructible. Therefore, in regarding the religious principle with hostility, you are tilting against a windmill.—Yours fraternally,

H. P. WRIGHT.

Mr. Wright's letter illustrates the fact shown in our pamphlet, that religion flourishes amidst confusion and is entirely incompatible with definite knowledge and sound reasoning. Our critic, for instance, glosses over the unimpeachable evidence which shows the materialist origin of religion. Further, he uses terms in several distinct senses in one argument—an unfaillingsource of confusion and error. And he appears to seriously argue that Socialism is not in contradiction with religion because people "can think in terms of contradiction"! It is obviously a complete surrender to us when the religious apologist's chief argument in favour of the assertion that "the great majority can harmonise their religious beliefs with the teaching of Socialism" is, that men do not think logically.

Mr. Wright is at pains to tell us in one part of his letter that the Socialist, in his ideas, "is on a par with the religionist—you believe; he believes," and that "the whole subject is dominated by sentiment," and is merely a conflict of superstitions. Therefore, according to Mr. Wright, precisely the same faculties come into play in dealing with religion as in dealing with Socialism. But we also learn from him further on that "the faculties used in considering the two conceptions" are distinct. The reader can please himself.

The statement in the pamphlet that "It is, therefore, a profound truth that Socialism is the natural enemy of religion occurs after a full

demonstration of that fact, of which the quotation from Marx was but the summary and conclusion. It is not because Marx or another has said it that it is true, but because the evidence proves it to be so. We acknowledge only science and experience as our authority, but the religionist who says with Mr. Wright, "Thus saith the Lord," solemnly quotes as supreme authority the traditions of superstitious barbarians!

Our critic admits that he cannot prove a future existence, but asserts that neither he nor any man living can prove "that Socialism is right." As though to demonstrate his inability to prove anything he goes on to confuse matters by using that ambiguous word "right" in nearly every sense in which it can be used. No wonder he cannot prove Socialism to be true, i.e., in accord with science. We undertake to do so or we should not be Socialists.

All knowledge is undoubtedly composed of beliefs. But the Socialist accepts only those which are supported by the evidence of experience and scientific reasoning. Mr. Wright evidently believes without evidence, and in the face of experience.

He says that present day production is not social. Does he really expect us to "believe," on his bare statement, that the present system does not cause us to be associated, by the very force of events, as parts of the social productive force meeting the demands of the social market? Does he deny that co-operative labour characterises the modern factory, and that we are completely dependent upon the social market for our every need? Surely he will not maintain that we are still handicraftsmen and peasants producing individually and independently everything we consume? Appropriation is individual, hence the anomaly; for we are certainly units in capitalism's social forces of production, as dependent on the labour of the butcher, the baker, the shoddy cloth maker as these are dependent, through the market, upon our labour for some of their many needs. Mr. Wright, in short, fails to grasp a most elementary economic fact.

"Assuming the religious conception to be false," says our critic, "I claim it is yet possible for the vast proportion of the human race to believe in it, without conflicting in any way (italics ours) with other conceptions which you might think at variance with it or even in direct opposition to it."

If this brilliant passage has a meaning (which we hesitate to believe) it is like saying that you can believe that two plus two equal both four and seven without there being contradiction. There are places where people afflicted with this kind of mental trouble are looked after!

As Mr. Wright says, "Introspective reasoning is always defective." "Because I cannot nobody else can" is bad logic. So when he infers from the ease with which he can assimilate and "believe" quite contradictory ideas, that every normal man can do the same, he is guilty, according to his own statement, of shocking "logic."

However, he means well, for he states "Facts are what we require." Yet he goes on to say, with unbecoming irony, "And I assert . . . To affirm the contrary is to fly in the face of facts. Further," (he does more wild asserting, in the realms of prophecy this time) "they will still believe when Socialism is established, for the religious faculties are innate in mankind, and you can never destroy them." Evidently Mr. Wright is both a great discoverer and a great prophet. He has discovered (or should it be invented?) new faculties and decreed their immortality. But he will eclipse even this if he can discover these "innate and indestructible" religious faculties in the members of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Although he assures us that he knows he is "what is termed a Socialist," we decline responsibility for such loose terminology.

As he says, an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory, but what a pity our critic has not been able to provide even the ounce of fact. He has merits attention, for he has willfully ignored mass of evidence which upholds the Socialist case. Until that evidence is controverted shown to be of no weight, our case as demonstrated in the pamphlet in question remains unshaken.

It is useless tilting against the scientific by ignoring facts, confusing the perverting logic—yet, strange to say, the religionist's only weapons.

THE EDITORIAL CO

[OFFICIAL NOTICE.]

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The Socialist Standard,

SUNDAY,



JAN. 1, 1911.

WORKERS ELECT—WHAT?

The excitement is over and the "most momentous question of modern times" is decided—for the second time. The fatuousness of the whole proceeding save from the point of view of those concerned to throw dust and gain time is indicated by the fact that the returns are almost identical with those of eleven months previously.

Of course, those fiends of darkness, the Lords, have been again soundly thrashed, and this time the road to the Liberal "Earthly Paradise" is to be unbarred. True, the noble creature whom Providence has granted the privilege of empire, the monopoly of work, and a big dinner once a year, has not betrayed that intense interest the occasion would seem to call for. But the wily ones know how to move him, and have judiciously prodded him to the polls—and for what?

To place Britain at the mercy of the foreigner say some. To end or mend the Lords say others. To bind his fetters tighter; to give his exploiters another lease of life; to check Socialism (Mr. Lloyd George—*vide* speech)—thus only can the Socialist answer.

The first have succeeded in roping in a large proportion of working cattle, but the wicked foreigner and his Radical allies are still at large.

The Liberals, on the other hand, are jubilant. They have, in a measure, succeeded. True, they are still dependent upon factions to keep them in office, but they have what they asked for: a large majority to do things to the House of Lords. With this cry and a few minor promises they are returned fairly secure in office.

All these good people, Liberal, Conservative or what not, are quite honourable gentlemen, of course, imbued with a love of "British fair-play." Consider, for instance, the way in which the spokesmen of both parties handle that old "Clarion" wheeze, the Referendum. The Tories with a great show of democracy, proposed to put the more momentous measures to a vote of the electors. Trust the people! was their election cry. The Liberals, however, the "People's Party," denounced it as unsound, impracticable, and revolutionary. The vaunted democracy of the latter is exposed in their attitude on this matter, while the sincerity of the Tories may be gauged from the fact that no sooner was it evident that they could not win than Mr. A. Chamberlain repudiated this extravagant "trust" in the people.

However, we are faced with a situation where the "People" are to come into their own. There are to be all kinds of democratic reforms, destined, it seems, to keep the Liberal party in power indefinitely. Some of these, they say, will have to be deferred 'til 1913—or, we suggest, 2013, so rapid is the age. But if the deluded proletarians will but examine the whole list,— "limitation of the Lords' veto," unemployment assurance, payment of members, and the rest—they will see that when all are enacted (if ever they are) their poverty-stricken, driven-beast existence will remain intact. "Down with the House of Lords" is even better as a vote-catcher

than the more precise and much milder Asquithian phrase, and, as a trick to obscure the fact that a clean sweep of the House of Commons is required to make any real betterment in the condition of the workers possible, it speaks volumes for their devilish cunning, if not for their ingenuity.

No, friends, it is not because there is a Lords' veto that we are in poverty and misery; it is because the means of livelihood are private property. Hence it is the whole social system, with its property basis, that we have to attack. And our line of attack is not through the Lords, but by working-class organisation—and through the Commons.

ANOTHER "LOST LEADER."

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, late "Labour" M.P., upholder of the black legging labour exchanges, apologist in general for the Liberal party, has at length received due reward for services rendered. The devil looks after his own. The capitalist Liberal Government, in elevating Mr. Shackleton to the position of Labour adviser to the Home Office, has again emphasised the fact, so often retailed by us, of its willingness to buy any material (however soiled) that it has found in the past, and expects to find in the future, useful in its struggle against the rising force of Socialism.

Mr. Shackleton, while ostensibly representing the interests of the workers in the House of Commons, has, in fact, with almost unprecedented effrontery and cynicism, taken every opportunity of lending support toward maintaining and furthering the interests of the employing class. The Liberal capitalists, with their usual astuteness, have seized an opportune moment for the appointment of Mr. Shackleton to his new post. Seeing all around signs of a more or less articulate Labour protest, they have executed an excellent stroke of business by taking under their direct control a man with a first-hand knowledge of the trade union movement, and Shackleton will no doubt earn his salary.

While members of the working class remain in their present condition of political ignorance, leaving their affairs in the hands of "leaders," there will continue to be desertion and betrayal. On the other hand, if they were conscious of their position as a class, if they had no leaders and refused to be followers, little or nothing would be gained by capitalism or lost to Labour by the "rattling" of one of their number. Such a man, having no followers, would go alone. The probability is, however, that many more of their "leaders" will be lost before the absurdity of following any man or men dawns upon the workers. Burns, Mitchell, Bell and Shackleton, have all been offered and accepted their price. It is hardly conceivable that the inestimable services to capitalism and Liberalism of such men as Ramsay MacDonald (supporter of child-labour) and Philip Snowden (apologist for the Featherstone and Belfast murders) should be overlooked.

THE DECLINE OF "PATRIOTISM."

Our capitalist masters are apparently anxious about a matter of first importance to their country. For ages they have been able to rely upon the working class to take up arms in defence of their exploiters' property; now, however, according to Lord Esher, an eminent authority, things are changing. "Under our present system," he says in a recent article in the *National Review*, "we purchase annually for the Regular Army, in peace, the bones and muscles and youth of about 30,000 of our countrymen. We keep them a few years, then we throw them away and take in a fresh supply."

"We," of course, means the capitalist class. The working class is represented by the bone and muscle which is purchased. It is evidently as bad a case for the workers on the military field as on the industrial. When they are no longer of any value they are cast aside like a sucked orange.

The writer complains with regard to the Regular Army, that it has been difficult of late years to obtain the necessary number of recruits. If with our ever-increasing army of unemployed,

from the ranks of which 95% of the recruits are drawn, they cannot obtain a sufficient number, there must indeed be a serious lack of "patriotism." Our masters have boasted in the past that every true Englishman was prepared to die for his country. Evidently the number of Englishmen with any country to defend is rapidly diminishing. Little as there is in life for the average worker, rather than lay it down for his country he would hand the flower-pot over.

Esher's chief grievance, however, is against the "Territorial force." He says that it cannot be denied that the numerical test is the only real test. So no longer is an Englishman accounted the equal of any dozen foreigners. That, at all events, marks no less a breakdown of our insular ignorance than of our insular pride and arrogance. In addition, the perfection of weapons is much the same the world over, and it is more than ever a question of weapons, while on the physical side, the advance of capitalism in this country is accompanied by such bodily deterioration as leaves us precious little "bone and muscle" worth the capitalists' money on the battle-field.

Our ruling class can see that their Continental rivals are determined to obtain as large a share of the markets of the world as possible, and that sooner or later this must culminate in world-wide disruption. Hence their anxiety on the score of "patriotism." Lord Esher gives expression to his anxious thought in the suggestion that "patriotism" is an attribute of the empty-headed. "How can you expect," he writes "recruits for your Territorial force, when you dress them unbecomingly?" One paper, commenting upon his noble lordship's article, suggests "a scarlet coat and a towering headdress" as the most effective appeal to the "patriotism" of the working class, though whether on the old, tried and trusty ground that those who have least in their heads must make the greatest show on them, or on the later calculation that now the workers are discovering how little country they have to fight for they may be induced to fight for their togs if only they are sufficiently removed from the hum-drum drab of the corduroy to enable them to forget that they are countryless workers, does not transpire.

But signs are not wanting that the master class are misjudging the workers there. What the army and navy stand for is being too clearly demonstrated by such events as Featherstone, Hull and Grimsby, Belfast and Tonypandy at home, and the French postal and railway strikes abroad. However empty-pated the ingrained cynicism of our exploiters may deem us, such lessons could not be lost upon us. Even the head of an ostrich, hidden in a gorgeous and "towering headdress," would begin to experience some mental quickening upon finding itself rudely unbonneted by a policeman's baton, and invited to take a glimpse at the armed and serried ranks of Patriotism in the adjacent vicinity. Nor is it altogether wisdom to flaunt "the famous deeds done by His Majesty's regiments" (to use Lord Esher's words) when the last reeking inscriptions on the tyrants' banners were writ in the blood of unarmed British workers on British soil.

Lord Esher does well indeed to suspect that "there may be deeper causes at work" than he speaks of. There may be deeper causes even than he knows of—which is not the same thing by any means. To the "sirocco of democracy" withering in our people the spirit of public sacrifice which he darkly hints at he might add that the development of capitalism is showing "our people" who is really meant by the "public" which demands such continual and considerable sacrifice.

Lord Esher sees "conscription" looming in the background. Of course it is not hailed with delight, for it seems to be recognised that if anything is necessary to complete the workers' education on the matter of "patriotism" it is conscription. The compulsory bearing of arms to defend that which they themselves (as at Tonypandy) are bated and murdered for looking darkly at would be too incongruous, too significant, for even the most glib of our class. Once the blinkers are stripped from the workers' eyes, the issue is one of sheer undisguised force—hence the capitalist class lament and tremble at the decay of "patriotism" among the workers, for they read doom in the force of a class-conscious proletariat.

J. R. R.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSITION.

(Continued.)

OUR consideration of the Revolutionary Proposition has led us to these conclusions: first, that the present system of society, based upon private property in the means and instruments of production and distribution, does not, nor can be made to, fulfil the function of a social system; secondly, the true and logical social function (to facilitate the satisfaction of the material needs of the people comprising that society) can only be carried out by a social system based upon common ownership of those means and instruments; thirdly, that such a system of society is both desirable and inevitable; fourthly, that the revolutionary change is to be attained by the capture of political power, in order that the machinery of Government, including the armed forces of the nation, may be wrenched from the master class—the great disarmament; and finally, that the struggle for this stupendous engine of class oppression, from the very fact that it is a struggle for an engine of class oppression, must be a CLASS STRUGGLE, fought out by hosts separated by the impassable barrier of class interests.

But is there nothing else to be hoped for but the fruits of that final victory? May we gather nothing but thorns and aloes on the way to the fateful battle?

Economic Science gives answer—"Nothing." The present industrial system is grounded upon the wage-labour institution. This means that human labour-power, under the present system, is a commodity, and therefore possesses the commodity nature.

Now the nature of all commodities is to sell for a price. That price is not a fixture: it rises and falls according to the relation of supply and demand.

A sudden improvement in the means of production, for instance, may displace a considerable number of workers in a given industry, and the consequent intensified competition for work tends to depress wages. The increased fertility of labour-power due to the improved machinery or methods will result in a fall in the price of the commodity produced, but still the lower wages leave a larger margin of profit.

The larger profit attracts more capital to the particular industry and stimulates production, wages recover because of the increased demand for workers, and the price of the commodity falls because of the increased supply.

Now the wide margin of profit which attracted new capital shrinks, the result on the one hand of the upward movement of wages, and on the other hand of the downward movement of the price of the product, and capital is now repelled, output decreases, supply and demand approach one another more closely, and the price of the commodity recovers.

We see by all this that the price of the commodity and the price of the labour-power have their movement in identically the same causes: the fluctuations of supply and demand, otherwise competition. Competition is the great regulator, the great leveller, under the present system. The competition of buyers and sellers in the market, the fluid movement of capital rushing hither and thither in the competition for the larger profit, the competition for work among the members of the working class, this is the force which gives vitality and movement to the world of prices, whether of ordinary commodities or of labour-power.

It is demand which regulates the production of ordinary commodities. Greater relative demand means higher prices; higher prices mean increased production; increased production means lower prices; and that decreased output.

But the production of labour-power is not regulated by demand. The process of its production is necessarily slow, and other factors would intervene to restore the balance long before demand could be responded to with an increased supply of labour-power.

Again, labour-power is the source of all profit, and it would be a strange economic law that corrected an increased relative redundancy of labour-power by destroying the fountains of profit.

The key to the problem is to be found in the following movement—which for obvious reasons must be considered as barred from the influence of other movements which in fact cannot be separated from it:

A general rise in wages means a shrinkage in the rate of profit (other things remaining constant), and tends to a contraction in the demand for labour-power, and so to depress wages.

Conversely, a fall in wages enlarges the rate of profit, stimulates production, increases the demand for labour-power, and elevates wages (we are other things remain unchanged all through.)

So the relative redundancy or scarcity of labour-power is not rectified by the removal or addition of labourers, but by the expansion of production. This shows us the utter futility of all such measures as aim at the abolition or the alleviation of the unemployed evil under capitalism. Any depletion of the labour market must result in higher wages, smaller profits, and the restoration of the required redundancy of labour-power, on the one hand by the contraction of production and on the other hand by the adoption of improved methods and machinery.

Beside the "solution" of the unemployed "problem" (in itself sufficient to bring about the downfall of capitalism), the other "palliative" measures, even if they were all that their advocates claim them to be, are of small importance. They have been dealt with in detail and at great length in these pages, so it is proposed to state here only the general economic grounds which foredoom any attempt to palliate the conditions of working-class existence under capitalism.

We saw that the movement of wages, like the fluctuations of the prices of commodities in general, is governed by forces quite outside human control, by laws which arise naturally and inevitably from the competitive nature of production based on private possession of the means and instruments for creating wealth.

The oscillation of wages is regulated by the relative redundancy or scarcity of labour-power. But the mean of all these fluctuations—what do we know of that?—a matter of far greater importance than the self-cancelling vibration. How is this mean level determined, and at what height?

Let us liken wages to the sea. The primary factor in lifting the waves is the wind. But that knowledge tells us nothing concerning the general level about which the waves rise and fall.

The hills and valleys of the sea are attributable to the struggle between two forces—wind and gravitation; the wage-waves also result from the struggle between two forces—those of the buyers and sellers of labour-power.

It is quite clear that in the case of the sea neither the wind nor gravitation determines the level about which the waves gravitate. The analogy holds good to this point. In a similar way neither can the force of either the buyers or the sellers of labour-power determine the mean of the wage-movement.

It is claimed that trade union organisation can have an effect of raising wages, but where awkward facts are ignored, false conclusions may be made to appear convincing.

As a matter of fact, larger labour-power demands a relatively larger unemployed army and greater intensity of production. America, with its wide trade union organisation, its high wage level, its staggering intensification of production, and its appalling nightmare of unemployment, finely illustrates this.

The higher price of labour-power makes necessary a more intense form of exploitation. This intensification takes place both through improved means and improved methods. But it is obvious that intensification by improved methods—by pitting ganger against ganger, gang against gang, man against man, needs a larger repressive force of unemployed than intensification by the mere adoption of improved machinery. In the one case the men are afraid of the unemployed workers at the factory gates, but in the other case they fear their employed fellows within the factory. The adoption of the machine, by increasing the output of work, coaxes men into submission to long hours and low wages; but the speeding-up of the machine has the contrary effect of compelling the workers to exhaust themselves in a shorter time—to submit to harrying and bullying possible only with a large reserve to choose from, and supportable only in the face of such a

reserve. The machine makes the worker afraid of the man outside who will work cheaper; the speeding-up makes the worker afraid of the man inside who will work harder. In the first case trade union organisation may act as a brake, but in the second case it is powerless.

There is good reason for this characteristic difference. First, with the development of the means of production an increasing amount of capital is necessary per man exploited, consequently it becomes more important to exhaust three shifts of men in twenty-four hours at a given wage than two shifts at a considerably lower wage. Thus—three men create £3 value in twenty-four hours. Wages at 6s. 8d.—£1, leaving £2 profit. Two men create £2 value in the same time with the same machinery. If wages are at 5s. the surplus is but 30s., and the rate of profit to capital lower. Then machinery is superseded and out-of-date long before it is worn out, hence it becomes necessary to work it to the utmost limits, which increasingly tends to short hours at high pressure—the eight hours' day palliative!

This very speeding-up, which tends to reduce hours what time it intensifies the labour and exploitation of the workers, tends also to support a higher rate of wages, because the conditions of life created by the greater pace and strain increases the cost of producing labour-power. In addition, the speeding-up, the introduction of competition inside the factory as well as outside, by the constant discharging of those those who fail to keep up with the others—by eliminating the weakest links in the chain, that is—must necessarily presuppose, not only a larger reserve of unemployed to choose from, but also a higher state of physical condition in that reserve army, in order to render it fit material to replace those broken or failing under the stress of everlasting "record-busting" production.

It is necessary, therefore, that this reserve be supported by some means or other. Here trade union organisation, with its unemployed relief, becomes a valuable institution to the masters. The labour-power of the reserve army is as necessary to, and as much at the disposal of, the master class as is the labour-power of those actually at work, for in this connection it is very true that

"They also serve who only stand and wait."

The trade unions, then, help to spread the wages of the employed over the larger field of labour, and to that extent save the exploiters the cost of keeping their reserve army physically fit by private or State "charity."

So in proportion as trade unionism makes for a higher rate of wages, capitalism replies with intensification and increased unemployment, which in turn renders a higher wage-rate necessary. A wider margin of unemployed is requisite for the operations of capitalist production in the stage of development it has attained in America than in that reached in England, and machinery and "speeding-up" and the contraction of production will always supply the needful.

The perfection of the workers' means of defence upon the economic field, it is seen by all this, cannot be a factor in determining the mean level of wages in their relation to necessity. Trade union organisation, higher wages, shorter hours, intensified exploitation, increased unemployment—all these hang together, acting and reacting upon one another, necessary to each other. And in their combined effect they work out the good of the master class—as most things do under capitalism—the enlargement of the difference between the cost of labour-power and the value of its product.

That which determines the mean level of wages is the necessary cost of production of labour-power under the standard of subsistence rendered necessary by the conditions of production at the time. As I have shown, this standard of subsistence may be rendered higher or lower by the needs and development of the system—as by intensification—but never at the dictation of the human will. Should wages rise temporarily above this, economic laws immediately exert their mighty influence to adjust things to the level of the greatest possible profit. Production tends to contract: the less substantial firms are hurried into bankruptcy and few new ventures are started. Improved machinery is

adopted (throwing men out of work, saving wages, and sharpening competition in the labour market), for labour-power finds its most ruthless competitor in its own production—machinery—and a rise in wages inclines the balance in favour of that rival. And should that not have the effect of adjustment, that "speeding-up" which is always taking place, stimulated by the invigorating presence of an increased unemployed army, quickens its pace, and forces up the ratio of exploitation to the utmost the higher wage will stand. A new standard of subsistence is attained, warranted by the industrial development, justified in the capitalists' "profit and loss" account, marked with greater misery and harassment than ever among the working class.

Is all this true? Then it is clear that any attempt to alleviate the material conditions of working-class existence, whether by legislation or by economic organisation, must be defeated by those very economic laws which such attempt must in the nature of things set in motion. The best will in the world cannot alter this. Even the so-called sops which it is popularly supposed the ruling class will fling to the workers to "stave off the evil day"—even they will not have the substance of sops, but only of shadows. Whatever so-called sops fear may induce the exploiters to throw the workers, they can avail the masters little, for the reason that, however much it may be deplored by those who bestow them, these "sops" cannot affect the material condition of the workers for the better.

It is not because the masters control the political machinery that there is no hope for the workers in capitalist legislation. Political power maintains the capitalist system by maintaining its private-property basis, but it has no control over the system which arises from the given basis. The political law falls inert and helpless before the economic law. As we have seen, every palliative effort sets the economic machinery in motion which is to defeat it. It matters nothing whether such efforts come from friend or foe. Wherever political law comes into conflict with economic law, the latter defeats it or turns it to its own advantage, without reference to human emotions.

Is there, then, no hope for the working class? Yes. There is hope in our stripes, and our wounds, and our sufferings—for they cannot be fruitless. There is hope in the understanding of our class-position, and in the uniting power of our class interests, for these make us an army and arm us. There is hope in the bitterness of battle, for we, in the narrow circumscription of our joyless existence, have nothing to lose but our chains: we have a world to win. There is hope in the passionless, pitiless face of Nature and in the very inexorableness of the working of the laws of our development, for there is assurance that the eternal forces take their course irrespective of human emotions and utterly without respect for persons. There is hope in our knowledge of the past, for that shows us that those forces which have raised up so many ruling classes and shattered them all, have never abandoned the producers of wealth, but has led them slowly but surely along the path (the only path for all its tortures) from the democracy of the savage to the immeasurably higher democracy which awaits us at the end of the weary journey.

Ah! there is the crowning hope, shimmering with radiant promise already on the horizon—the realisation of the Revolutionary Proposition: The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, by and in the interest of the whole community.

A. E. JACOMB.

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"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).

A FEW WORDS TO UNEMPLOYED TEACHERS.

DEAR STUDENTS.—First, a word of sympathy to you in your present plight. Many of you have had a rude awakening. Your course of study did not include certain bed-rock facts, the knowledge of which would at least have prepared you for a state of things which, sooner or later, was inevitable under the present state of society.

However, out from the thorns of your grievous condition, pluck here and now the rose of understanding—learn your position in the body politic; consciously affiliate yourself to the class to which you belong, the working class.

Karl Kautsky ("The Working Class," price 1d., translated and published by the Socialist Party) says: "Another category of proletarians begins to develop—the educated proletariat."

EDUCATION BECOMES A COMMODITY.

Until several decades ago it was a rare commodity. . . . Since then, the spread of education has made gigantic strides. . . . Female labour increases. . . . The labour-market of the educated workers is to-day as over-crowded as that of the manual workers. . . . The intellectual workers have already their reserve army." (Read the whole thing, my young friends. It is almost a literary crime to "boil down" in the way I have attempted.)

I pray you note the phrase "labour-market," clearly grasp the meaning of "commodity" and the dire significance of the words will save you the humiliation of "appealing" to representatives of the class (the master class) whose endeavour it must necessarily be to aid in the creation of a Reserve Army, as it will shake your all too-simple faith in "leaders" of the National Union of Teachers.

The "labour-market"! What have you to sell on that market?

YOUR LABOUR-POWER.

"The aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description." ("Capital," p. 145.) And you, in common with the domestic servant, the "student-salesman," the policeman, and the waitress, with whom you are being asked to compete, have nothing to sell but that same labour-power—unless you enter the army of small, very small, traders ("hawkers") is the brutal word used to describe the followers of the occupation, which I am told in good authority is a read some of you have been compelled to take). You have invited Roeberry to your meeting. "I should try to conduct the State as I would."

MY PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Thus Roselery at Glasgow in 1909. The very essence of the conducting of "private business" is the buying of labour-power at the cheapest price; the very existence of "my private business" is wrapped up in the preservation of a "Reserve Army" of unemployed.

Your secretary seems to be surprised at the fact that the President of the Board of Education has lied, in asserting that he was "not aware they are experiencing unusual difficulties in obtaining appointments; in fact, such evidence as the Board possesses indicates that the demand exceeds the supply." Why this surprise? Is it because you are disappointed in view of the handsome testimonial given to Runciman by Marshall Jackson (Conference 1910)? His name will be honoured by future generations. . . . I pay my warmest tribute to him.

Your touching faith in the National Union of Teachers will probably receive many a rude shock apart from the present issue, if you are so fortunate as to find a purchaser for your commodity, and so entitle yourself to become a member. You will find a President of the Union (W. Nicholls) uttering the soft nothings so dear to the heart of the Labour fakir, calculated to blunt the keen edge of class consciousness which alone can cut the Gordian Knot of the

CLASS STRUGGLE.

Listen! "The Union had always been on good terms with local educational authorities." (Conference 1910.) The lion and the lamb lying down in indistinguishable union and accord! Why? The lamb has been beautifully assimilated and

juicefully incorporated in the lion's system.

Another delegate was fearful lest those outside should imagine for one moment that the N.U.T. harboured any such wicked ideas as the recognition of the class-struggle of which his union itself is some sort of expression. "Mr. Hearn said he had attained practically the thing he had in view—an expression of friendliness towards educational authorities in general." And there was no "friendly" chairman to call in the police to clear the gallery, my charming young friends!

Perhaps the ugliest aspect of the present situation is the fact which characterises all phases of the class-struggle to-day, and that is you are compelled

TO FIGHT EACH OTHER.

in the awful endeavour to live. The sickening feeling of despair when the one "successful" candidate is "called in" gives the lie to the platitudes which you have been taught to swallow, that "hard work" and "thrift" and eke "simple Bible teaching," would give rise to all the virtues. You are engaged in an ignoble scramble for the dirty bone of employment flung at you by the employing class, whether that class be represented by a body of church managers, or by a municipality, which, in the very nature of things, is bound to administer in the "interest of the ratepayer," about whom you are so foolishly concerned. (Taxes and rates are levied upon PROPERTY. Taxation does not affect the class to which you belong. The essential fact for you is the price of your labour-power—your wages—always supposing you have found a purchaser.) Are you glad when you find yourself unsuccessful? Isn't there something very hollow about your "congratulations" to the "successful" candidate?

Nothing suits the master class so well as the present condition of affairs in the industrial field, well illustrated in the teaching "profession" where "certificated" teacher is pitted against "unqualified" teacher, "head" against "assistant," "Unqualified" or not, the "supplementary" teacher is "in the profession"; more, she is a member of the working class, and if the N.U.T. had not been so bent upon manufacturing pushful Macranaras and boomerang Grays against themselves, they might have had the elementary prudence to

ORGANISE YOUR SISTERS.

whom you endeavour to belittle by calling "vaccinated women over 18." And, young man, a very private word in your ear. One day, when you are placed, do not be very shocked if your "chief"—a blatant mouther of phrases on the platform, and a silver-tongued "log-filler," tells you plump and plain that, spite your training, spite of what you have cast your parents, the ratepayer, and the country, the "supplementary" is a far more efficient machine for imparting capitalist-made instruction, and for earning "grants," than you fondly imagined yourself to be. Such things, I am informed by those who should know, do sometimes happen.

The outlook is black for employed and for unemployed. There is no hope for sections of the working class. The united action of the whole class alone can remove the tension once for all. That means removal of the cause—private ownership of the means of life. The abolition of this in favour of a system based upon the common ownership of the means of life is the work that

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

is embarked upon. All else is futile. Lansbury, Kekewich and Frank Smith, with an eye to your "vote and interest" at the next L.C.C. election, may try to persuade you that Labour Codlin is better than Moderate Short, but the one fact for you to cling to is that you are unable to sell your labour-power. The further fact remains that when you do sell it, in the words of the President of the N.U.T. (1906), you will be "inadequately remunerated, under harassing conditions, practically in many cases the servants of officials who rule with an iron hand, depending for your livelihood on voice and brain, and, if these fail, cast aside without remorse." Economic Pressure is a hard schoolmaster, but he has for the willing learner a message of hope, in the establishment of a system where love and beauty and delight will be possible of universal achievement, in a word, the practical realisation of sage and seer, practical because the one barrier—class distinction—has been removed.

PETER GOG.

REVIEW.

"My Case," by WALTER V. OSBORNE. Eveleigh Nash. 1s. net.

TEN years ago a judgment in a certain trade union case was given by the section of the House of Lords known as the "Law Lords," that became world famous as the Taff Vale case.

It was an action by the Taff Vale Railway Co. against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants to recover damages in respect to injury arising from a strike of the railway men, and the judgment was in favour of the masters.

This case was one of the greatest factors in the building up of the Labour Representation Committee (now the Labour Party), and Richard Bell, then secretary of the A.S.R.S., was chairman of the Committee during 1902.

Time's irony has brought another Law Lords' decision against the A.S.R.S., but this time levelled at the Labour Party, it was so instrumental in building up. And as if to complete the sarcasm of events, Lord Farwell is one of the judges in the last case, as he was in the first.

In the November issue of this journal were given the reasons this party agree with the Osborne judgment—so known from the name of the individual who brought the action.

The book under review tells us singularly little that the ordinary reader of the newspapers did not know, unless we except the appendix containing the judgments of the five Law Lords. But there is a good deal of what can only be described as cant, while one or two curious statements are made.

On page 5 we are told the author started "without organisation or funds, relying wholly upon the justice of the cause" (obvious cant), while on page 18 occurs this curious admission: "It now became evident that the matter must go to the Courts. In order to obtain some standing I came forward as candidate for the Walthamstow Town Council, and was returned in April 1906."

The reader may wonder what this had to do with an action that Mr. Osborne is continually telling us was a trade union matter. The following may increase this wonder—or dispel it.

"At the Walthamstow Council I had the good fortune to meet Councillor Wilkinson, a solicitor in the City of London, who agreed to take charge of the case." (Page 28.)

Mr. Osborne was certainly a fortunate man, for on the same page we are told "For myself, I was entirely without resources, and had no knowledge of how or where to obtain money, but after six months of persistent effort I succeeded in raising £250," and on page 29, after describing how he had lost both his case and his money in the lower Courts, he says: "Owing, however, to the great generosity of my solicitor in trusting me to raise the money eventually, I was able to proceed with the case."

And we are told that, in the Court of Appeal "our Counsel realised that they were fighting, not only for the liberty of their fellow citizens, but for the very safety of our Constitution."

My word! and we had been unaware of the danger until Mr. Osborne became the chosen instrument for our defence.

Throughout the book the term "Socialist" is applied to the Labour Party and its leaders. Yet Mr. Osborne must know that the Socialist Party has denounced them as anti-Socialists and misleaders of the working class, because our Party had to fight the Executive and secretary of the A.S.R.S. over the exposure of the latter's action in connection with the North Eastern Railway.

These misleaders have been very busy throwing out insinuations and sneers with reference to the source of the funds Mr. Osborne obtained. They are, of course, fine judges of "curious sources" whence funds are obtained. But on page 58 Mr. Osborne reprints a letter sent to the *Morning Post* and other papers (7th Oct. 1910), challenging the Trades Union Congress to appoint an independent investigator, but although at that moment busy abusing him, the Congress did not take his challenge up. So far as the present writer has heard, they have not replied to his letter at all—a significant measure of the worth of their criticism.

J. F.

PEACE & POVERTY.

At this time of the year mealy-mouthed apologists of capitalist society vomit pille anent the goodwill they bear toward men and women, and, shutting their eyes to the misery around them, prate of "peace on earth." Bells ring their welcome to the New Year, and the parson unciously intones his twaddle of the peaceful doctrine of the meek and lowly carpenter—twaddle understood by none of his congregation so well as by us, who recognise the priestly rôle as a bulwark of capitalism. Peace is desirable to those who own, for when the worker ceases to turn the other cheek, but gives blow for blow instead, the day of the capitalist, and the occupation of the parson, will be gone.

A happy and prosperous New Year! What mockery on the lips of working people while they starve in thousands amid plethora! Peace on earth, while the class-war rages unceasingly from pole to pole!—and must do while classes exist.

We who produce all this profusion of wealth which flaunts us at this season of the year—we starve amid it all. And the jackals who heap poverty on the producers of all that they enjoy, put their tongues in their cheeks and wish us the happiness in the changing season that they know full well can never be ours while they have power to despoil us.

Years ago statisticians showed how impossible it was for the great mass of the people to live in any sort of comfort on the miserable pittance they earned. Rowntree said that for 28 per cent. of the population of York City, to spend a few pence on any "luxury" meant penalising themselves. A penny spent on a paper or a postage stamp meant a pennyworth of food short!

H. Bagster Wilson (member Royal College of Surgeons) showed in "The Poor Law Crisis" (1910) that such conditions are not confined to London and York. Poverty is ably defined in his opening chapter. "By poverty we do not mean that absence of income only, but also the shortage of means, opportunities and healthful environment which leads to the failure of any individual or any class to reach those physical, intellectual and ethical standards practically possible for him. . . . The poverty we shall especially deal with is that deprivation of means, ideals and opportunities which produces a three-fold shortage of physique, intellect and morale; which bars the 'poor' man, the 'poor' child, the 'poor' woman from fulfilling himself or herself . . . a poverty which is therefore a happiness destroyer." (Italics mine.)

He then takes the average family, who will, he says, have to pay for rent 4s. per week, and goes on: "Personal investigations, confirmed by a medical officer of health, prove that the average total income of such a family is at the very outside 19s. 3d. per week, and in 46% of cases only 17s. 9d. The general average cannot ever be higher than 18s. per week."

Rowntree demands 21s. 8d. for barest physical efficiency. So, after paying rent, the family is left with 14s. while 17s. 8d. is requisite for their barest needs!

Mr. Rowntree allows 10s. per week for food (for a family of five!) while out of the remaining 4s., 1s. is required for cooking and heating, 1d. for light, 2s. 3d. for clothes, 2d. for soap, "leaving 31. to carry forward for what remains to be enumerated." That which "remains to be enumerated" includes bedding, crockery, cooking utensils, beer, tobacco, medical aid, etc., etc.

On page 18 we find the following: "There is without doubt much semi-starvation in every great city: no medical man needs figures to prove it. Men, women and children only eat enough for bare existence, not nearly enough or sufficient variety to maintain physical efficiency, still less to meet the demands of children's growth and of the child-bearing period. This is serious in winter. Just when most food is needed, expenses are heavier and most kinds of work are less easily obtainable. Hence undue precocity and excitability, hence lack of mental power, control and balance, hence repeated and costly breakdowns."

While dealing with facts our investigator is intelligible, but when he suggests causes and a remedy he is hopelessly confused. He rails at

the "Socialistic" tendencies of those who would "break up the Poor Law," and who signed the Minority Report. "The Poor Law," he says, "must be retained. . . . We will not jettison the beautiful title of Guardian of the Poor." Pugh! The Poor Law must be retained because capitalism needs it, for, as the Majority Report says: "No country, however rich, can permanently hold its own in the international race for competition, if hampered by an increasing load of this dead weight, or can successfully perform the rôle of sovereignty beyond the seas, if a portion of its own folk at home is sinking below the civilization and aspirations of its subject races abroad."

Nor are prospects better in agricultural districts. A recent return issued by the Board of Trade (14.12.1910) shows that the rate of wages of agricultural workers has increased 2d. in five years! Including all allowances in kind, such as lodging, food, etc., their average weekly wages in 1907 were as follows:

England	18s. 3d.
Wales and Monmouth	18s. 0d.
Scotland	19s. 7d.
Ireland	11s. 3d.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the Report, says (15.12.10):

In summer ordinary (agricultural) labourers work on the average 11 or 12 hours, with intervals of from 1½ to 2 hours for meals, shorter hours on Saturdays not being the rule. In general, horsemen, cattle-men, and shepherds work still longer hours, and are paid a rather higher wage. Compared with 1898, the year of the Board of Trade's first enquiry, the average wage shows an increase in England of 5 per cent., and in Scotland of 8 per cent. Since the date of the second enquiry (1902) very little difference is shown. . . . An average increase of 5 per cent. in a decade is little in itself; it is practically nothing when allowance is made for the upward tendency in the price of necessities. . . . We are bound, therefore, to conclude that there is nothing in these returns calculated to suggest that wages in the country are checking the drift to the towns—except that the figures are three years old.

So, in town and country the outlook for this new-born year is gloomy indeed. Things have not improved during our boom year—and a boom is always portentous of a slump to come. To talk to us of peace and happiness under such conditions is merely to invite us to continue to suffer quietly. Our answer is "not peace but war; war to the knife until we have swept away every vestige of the foul system that, for the workers, blackens every New Year's morning. TWEL.

THE AUSTRALIAN LABOUR PARTY.

The following extracts from a letter from a friend in South Australia may be of interest at the present moment:

"Politics here are worse than dead—they are buried. So far as the worker is concerned the Labour Party is a calamitous failure. Even the most conservative of capitalist Governments could not have been more concerned about the rights of 'property' than was Verran's Government in the Asphalters' strike a few weeks ago. Most of the South Australian Labour M.P.s are wowsers (Wesleysans) of the virulent type, bound hand and foot to one or another little Bethel, and when it comes to a question of conventional or unconventional procedure, the wowsers' instinct comes uppermost, and the wowsers' feeling is ever for 'Plute,' who keeps the chapels going. A few of the present Government are marked down for smash next election,—their vera religious pundering will prove their political undoing."

"You will have read of the Labour victory in New South Wales. They have a better type of men there than we have in South Australia, as they are not so thoroughly tied up to the Gospel-mongers. We have a phalanx of saints with Verran as archangel."

JOHN A. DAWSON.

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S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JANUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.

	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 H. Joy	J. Halls	G. Holmes	A. Barker
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 H. Martin	J. Kemble	H. Joy	H. Cooper
Finbury Park	7.30 A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Pearson	F. J. Rourke
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	3.0 A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen	H. Joy
Islington, St. Thomas' rd.	11.30 F. Dawkins	W. Pearson	H. Martin	J. Kelly
Kennington Triangle	7.30 R. H. Kent	R. Fox	F. J. Webb	C. Ginger
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 G. Holmes	A. Barker	R. Fox	H. Martin
"	7.30 J. Halls	F. J. Rourke	F. Dawkins	J. Halls
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins
Peckham Triangle	7.30 J. Kelly	T. W. Allen	J. Halls	R. Fox
Rushcroft-rd., Brixton	7.30 A. Barker	H. Cooper	H. Newman	G. Holmes
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	11.30 T. W. Allen	H. Joy	H. Martin	H. Martin
Tooting Broadway	" A. Barker	F. Leigh	C. Ginger	A. W. Pearson
"	7.30 H. Joy	H. Martin	G. Holmes	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	F. Stearn
"	7.30 T. W. Allen	H. Joy	H. Martin	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 F. J. Rourke	R. Kenny	R. Fox	J. Kelly
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	" G. Holmes	A. Barker	J. Kemble	R. Fox
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. J. Webb	F. W. Stearn	F. J. Rourke	F. J. Webb
"	7.30 R. Fox	C. Ginger	J. Kelly	A. Pearson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8. Rush-**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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THE
SOCIALIST
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The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

MIGHT IS RIGHT.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY.

The Duke of Westminster receives from rents alone £3,000,000 per annum.

Blessed Shame!
No, no, not a bit of it. Who can blame him?

Strong. Thirteen millions of people in this country are living always on the verge of starvation!

Again shame!
But why?

By all the logic of nature the former is entitled to as much as he has power to grasp, while the latter deserve no more than they are willing to fight for, ay, and to conquer for themselves.

Man has a right to live only—if he can. The mightiest beast and the meanest parasite have as much right to live—and as little.

The hungry tiger strikes down the hunter and devours him—if he can, and nobody says shame! or thinks it wrong. The maggots burrow deep into the nostrils of the hartebeeste, and we say simply "Nature is cruel."

Yet Nature is not cruel: she knows nothing of emotions. She leaves her children to fight things out for themselves, giving them one universal law: Might is Right.

"The race is to the swift,
The battle to the strong."

Let us be strong, then, for the weak have neither right nor portion in Nature's economy.

Those wolves in sheep's clothing, the Christian priesthood, commonly profess to hold that man has other right to live than this right of might—this elementary right of the tiger and the maggot. Of such jealous guardians of the Rights of Man this question may be asked:

What becomes of the "right" to live if the means by which alone it is possible to live are in the hands of others?

Clearly in this case man cannot live by any heaven bestowed "right," but only on sufferance. So the logic of their own ethic places the Christians in contradiction to the social system which they uphold, and whose central principle—private property in the means of life—is the very denial and negation of their fundamental belief, that God having created man, man has a "right" to live.

Far nearer to the truth of things was that London magistrate who answered the pilferer's plea that one "must live," with the sententious announcement: "Not necessarily." Two words sufficed to reveal the naked truth in all its frank brutality. Capitalist society recognises no "right" to live, and the cynical lawyer gives the lie to the sycophantic priest.

Logic in the Making. If man has a God-given right to live, as Christians commonly hold, then it devolves upon men to secure for themselves the means by which alone they can live,

in the first place, and in the second place it sets the mark of Cain upon the brows of those who have taken "the earth and the fulness thereof" from the people.

If, on the other hand, man has but the right of might—the right of tiger and of the maggot—to live, then Westminster, with his vast rent-roll, is justified, in the face of starving millions.

If it appears strange that only the ethic of the revolutionary can justify the lords of capitalism, whilst the logical conclusion of the creed that bolsters them up in their high place on their mountain of spoils, condemns them, this is only because the first is the true ethic, both of capitalism and of the revolution it is producing—ay, and of all life, for all time—while the second is false, a soporific, the chloroform rag in the hands of the social footpad.

However, under both philosophies we proceed to the same action—to live, by our "right" or our might—and therefore to seize all those things necessary for the fullest enjoyment of life; in the one case because common property is the first essential to living by "right," in the other case simply because it is expedient.

The revolutionary requires no other justification than that of expediency. No revolutionary in history ever really did. True they have paid much lip service to Justice and other figments of the popular mind, but that has been only because they have required the assistance of those who were to gain nothing from revolution, and who had therefore to be inspired with empty phrases and confused with humbug. But the highest sanction revolutionaries ever have required has been—opportunity.

The Socialist asks no more. Let who will grovel at the feet of Justice, or slobber over the "Natural Rights of Man"—the Socialist has no use for such meaningless vapourings. Expediency is his justification for all things, and opportunity finds him always in the right.

Notwithstanding the prevailing cant, Machiavellism is inherent in every "State." Wherever a "State" exists, wherever, in short, society is founded upon the subjugation of a class, there the suppression of that class follows as a matter of course, and utterly without scruple.

In the name of Law and Order, and of Freedom and Justice and Equality, as befits a world of commodities whose freedom of motion and equality, become nature, demands at least a fictitious freedom and equality for their owners. And in the name of Christ, too, as behoves men who must seek some higher sanction than that of commodity owners to suppress commodity owners.

The feudal lord appeared as a different order of being to the serf. They were not commensurable in the flesh, for heaven had made one

noble and the other base. But under capitalism all are commodity owners—the man who holds untold stores, and the man who

Any Means has only his labour-power to sell. As commodity owners they stand equal. Hence suppression in the name of Equality—but not on the authority of all commodity owners: oh dear no, that would never do. Nor on the authority of some commodity owners, for that would be contrary to that beautiful capitalist ideal—the equality of all possessors of commodities.

So Christ is their refuge and their salvation: Christ the meek and lowly and submissive, who recognised "constituted" authority in the command: "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's."

But under all this, Might is Right. A great show of "moral suasion" as exemplified in 40,000 pawns, it is true; but for every pawn there is a policeman and three bluejackets and half-a-dozen soldiers—for every "man of peace" ten "dogs of war."

Much talk of loyalty and honesty and honour. Loyalty, indeed, with an army to keep us loyal; honesty, indeed, in the thieves' kitchen of capitalism; honour where nothing is trusted to honour!

Honour and force are contradictory terms, mutually exclusive. Capitalism has no need for the first (except as a piece of humbug); it relies upon force. Among equals honour is the voluntary observance of the rules of the game; but in present-day society we are not equals, hence honour is replaced by force.

The tradesman, in his thirst for profit, gives credit. Does he trust to honour? No. He makes a calculation based on the fact that he has all the forces of the Law behind him. Can I make him pay? is the only question he is concerned with, and he acts according to his judgment of that problem, and if, leaning upon the force of the Law, he finds it a broken reed, he has made a mistake, that is all.

The rules of the game—who made the rules of the game? Those who say we shall observe them. But if a hooligan or a footpad jumps us in the street are we slavishly careful of Marquis of Queensbury rules? Not if a brick is handy. No, any means that are means!

So with the revolutionary. He takes his stand upon the same code that has served to carry so many exploiters to power, and which last must help the workers to their emancipation. There is no right but might. We deserve nothing but what we can get with our teeth and our claws.

The Ethic of Socialism. Against the might of the strong few shall be put the might of the many weak ones. Before that might capitalism and private ownership will go down for ever. Then, when society

founded upon common property in the means of life, has become one harmonious whole, the brutal dictum, might is right, will hold good only between the social organism and external nature, while between man and man a new ethic will arise—or rather the old ethic of gentile society under a new form—that only the social good is right.

A. E. JACOMB.

THE FRAUD OF OLD AGE PENSIONS.

On Nov. 21st, 1910, Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Mile End, made the following statement:

"We are going to bring in an additional 200,000 poor old people (cheers) who are now branded with the stain of pauperism. We are going to make them State pensioners—like the dukes."—*Daily Chronicle*, Nov. 22.

A few days later, conversing with Mr. Harold Bigbie, he said, speaking of the Old Age Pension scheme in general:

"How simply, and with what imperceptible disturbance of the social order, have we introduced old age pensions! By this act of justice we have sweetened the bitterest thoughts of the poor and lightened the darkest hours of their existence. That which they most dreaded—old age—is now an anticipation of honourable ease. The workhouse has become the chimney corner. The spectre has become an angel."

Daily Chronicle, Nov. 24th.

Unfortunately, the idyl pictured above of the pensioners taking their "honourable ease" in their own "chimney corner," content with themselves, the Liberal Party and the world, has crumbled at the touch of brutal reality. Strange to say, most of the inmates of the workhouses who were eligible to come out on Jan. 1st to take their "honourable ease" on 5s. a week have refused to do so. They doubtless think it more to their advantage to remain in the workhouses, even at the risk of being stigmatised as paupers, than to come out and starve on the "munificence" of the Liberal Government. Such is the ingratitude of the working class!

According to the *Times* (27.12.10) only 9% of the whole of the workhouse inmates now qualified elected to avail themselves of the new Act, and even of this small proportion, it is fully expected that 90% will return to the workhouse in a short time.

The following extracts, taken at random, are instructive as showing the feeling prevailing among the people for whose benefit the measure was supposed to have been passed:

"The Workhouse Visiting Committee of the Stepney Board of Guardians report that out of 224 persons in the workhouse eligible for the old-age pension in Jan. next, only 65 have declared their intention of applying for it. . . out of 139 old people in the Dover Workhouse who are also eligible, only 13 have decided to apply."

Evening News, 9.11.10.

"At Meriden Board of Guardians meeting yesterday, the master reported that only two of the 38 aged inmates wished to apply for the old-age pensions, declining on the ground that 5s. weekly is not enough to keep them." *Daily Sketch*, 9.11.10.

"Yesterday, at a meeting of the Hampstead Board of Guardians, it was stated that 11 out of a total of 103 inmates eligible for old-age pensions had decided to accept them."

Islington Gazette, 30.12.10.

In St. George's Workhouse, Fulham, "400 (inmates) are eligible for old-age pensions and 90 applied three months ago. Age, infirmity and fear of starvation have reduced the 90 still further. After the claims of all have been settled, perhaps 40 will have made their re-entry into the world of worry and work again."

Daily Mail, 5.1.11.

That it is impossible for any man or woman to subsist on 5s. a week must be apparent to anyone looking at the matter without prejudice. All the sentimental cant recently talked by the capitalist apologists as to the benefits that will accrue to the workers by the removal of the pauper disqualification has been done with a set purpose. Mr. Lloyd George and his followers, knowing the

abhorrence in which the workhouses are held by the average member of the working class, have used their knowledge to bind still tighter the shackles upon the workers. The former workhouse inmates, who have now, by reason of the 5s. per week provided, been able to take up their residence with relatives or friends, have only been able to do so at the expense of such relatives or friends. It being impossible for them to live upon the 5s. per week alone, it follows that the extra amount necessary for their subsistence must come from the pockets of those with whom they live. This means a stinting of the entire household in the necessities of life, and eventually a general lowering of the level of subsistence of the working class.

With regard to those men and women who were before in receipt of outdoor relief, and have now had given to them 5s. per week pension instead, it is yet to be seen whether this sum will compensate them for the amount previously received from the poor rate and the various charity organisations. As was shown in the report of the recent Poor Law Commission, outdoor paupers have been in the habit of obtaining considerably more than 5s. per week, owing (as the report puts it) to the laxity with which relief has been administered.

As a matter of fact, these old age pension schemes actually mean a more economical administration of Poor Law relief in general, and the only people who are likely to benefit by their adoption are the ratepayers. That this is the case may be seen even thus early by the following paragraph:

"Nottingham ratepayers will benefit, it is expected, to the extent of a twopenny rate as the result of the removal of the pauper disqualification. The clerk to the Board of Guardians stated yesterday that the weekly reduction in the outdoor relief amounted to £146, and nearly 800 fewer persons received relief. In addition 34 persons had left the workhouse to receive the pension, thereby effecting a further saving."

Morning Leader, 18.1.11.

So this much vaunted measure resolves itself into a decrease in the rates, the increased prestige of the Liberal party, and a change for the worse in the conditions of existence pertaining to the workers.

By a strange coincidence, in the *Daily Mail* of Jan. 5th, two paragraphs appear, side by side, one expressing the doubts and difficulties of a number of workhouse inmates as to their being able to exist on 5s. per week, the other showing the impossibility experienced by an Army officer of living on 10s. per day! The juxtaposition of these two paragraphs is truly a touch of unconscious irony, and should provide food for thought to those who still believe in the possibilities of existence on the pension doled out by capitalism to its worn-out slaves.

F. J. WEBB.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. (Hackney) AND OTHERS.—The article appearing in our January issue under "Peace and Poverty," was somewhat confusing. Owing to late arrival of the copy, no time could be allowed for author's corrections, and reducing matter to its many essential features. If the article is re-read with the following explanation much of the confusion will, we think, be avoided.

The figures quoted in pars. 6, 7 and 8 refer to Birmingham; the book referred to being based upon certain investigations made into the conditions of the working-class in that city. The sentence Mr. Rountree allows," etc. should read "H. B. Wilson allows," etc.

F. A. COTTELL (Mador Park).—Industrial Unionists would take and hold the means of production by an industrial organisation of Socialists and non-Socialist. Non-Socialist, however, can be illogical enough to recognise the class struggle on the industrial field, and yet support their bosses politically, as recent experience has shown. It is easy to talk of leaders who would be the servants of all, but a majority of non-Socialists in any organisation is the condition for misleading. (Get a Socialist working class, and industrial organisation will follow; but "Industrial Unionism" (divorced from Socialism) is another of those "short cuts" which lead the working class to box the compass.

F. SUTHERLAND (Queensland).—Regret we cannot find room for your letter, but note your appreciation of our pamphlet "Socialism and Religion." We hope you will make it widely known in Australia.

FOOLS & THEIR FOLLY.

PERSECUTION IN JAPAN.

CAPITALISM grafted upon Oriental despotism, would appear to be a particularly vile combination, if we may judge from the "trial" of the persons accused of conspiracy against the life of the Mikado. From the Press little can be learned of the matter. In the same paragraph the accused are described first as Socialists, then as Anarchists, and again as followers of Dr. Kotoku—who is alleged to be a Protestant and a kind of Eastern Tolstoy. However, of the Mikado, his government, and the ruling class of Japan, we know that they constitute as villainous a tyranny as may be found. We know that exceptional and secret procedure was employed to secure the condemnation of the accused. We are told that Kotoku and his friends translated and circulated revolutionary literature, such as the "Communist Manifesto"—a work of propaganda tending to raise the exploited millions of Japan in revolt. Here certainly was ground for getting rid of inconvenient opponents—if the operation was not thought too risky. Consequently the charge of conspiracy against the life of the Emperor and the condemnation to death of twenty-four persons (commuted to imprisonment in twelve cases) appears to be a savage attempt to suppress an unwelcome propaganda.

History shows, however, that suppression by such methods rarely succeeds. On the contrary, revolt often thrives under persecution. Not many years since the German Government tried persecution. The effect was the opposite of that hoped for, and the suppressive measures were suspended. While in England the individual agitator is often victimised through his employment, persecution of any kind has been the least factor tending to keep back Socialism. The Japanese ruling class will learn from experience that the murder of Kotoku and his friends will not avail them in a struggle where the very capitalist conditions of industry and society themselves breed revolting proletarians, and ultimately, by a refining process, clear-headed Socialists who know the road.

MORE SHUFFLING OF THE PACK.

The Liberal Press is busy trying to impress the working-man with the picture of the blessings that are to rain upon the horny-handed ones. Invalidity Insurance has a leading position among these. It is to be compulsory, and will amount to five shillings per week; half the cost to be met out of the worker's wages, and half to be borne by the employer and the State between them—at least so the inspired ones say.

The whole proposal may be better considered when it comes before Parliament, but meanwhile the law of wages teaches us that the workers get on the average, enough to keep them in working order and no more. Also we remember the old and sage, if cynical, warning, that no one is out giving away. So we may expect to find ourselves after the passage of the measure very much where we were before it was proposed.

CARNEGIE'S MILLIONS.

Really, the Hero of Homestead seems to be worried by his ill-gotten dollars. His latest re-endowment of Mr. C's Institute to the tune of a million or two reminds one of his exceptionally stupid "peace" fund established a few months ago. True such gifts and professions help keep the blinkers over the eyes of those whose toil provides this cornucopia of abundance—and that is important. But otherwise the fund is simply one for meeting the travelling, hotel, and other expenses of innumerable peace-mumbling humbugs. One can picture to oneself the scramble for the spoils of senile millionaireism, the scheming, and trickery, and crawling.

"Twould have been more correct to have named it a fund for the promotion of corruption."

MUNICIPAL ENTERPRISE.

A White Paper recently issued states that £446,274 derived from municipal tramway profits has been applied to the relief of rates. This is good business from the property owner's point of view, but, as we have often had occas-

ion to show in the past, the question of the rates is not one that concerns the workers. Such enterprise will often, indeed, be found to act to their detriment. Thus the dailies reported a few days since, that the city of Leeds is delivering coal by tramway much more economically than was the case with the old private delivery, and that a general extension of the system is proposed. More economical distribution means fewer men employed, less wear and tear on material, smaller wages bills and less coming to the workers. Yet according to the Clarionettes and other pseudo-Socialists, this is one of the "practical steps" to Socialism. They neglect to ask who runs the show—it makes all the difference.

THE OSBORNE JUDGMENT AGAIN.

The Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions circulate the following resolution:

"That nothing short of the restoration of the status quo (sic) in connection with Parliamentary funds of trade unions would satisfy the General Federation of Trade Unions."

And in circulating this the secretary gives as the reason, that any legislation which would permit the minorities of trade unions to escape the decisions of the majorities would "complicate all accounts dealing with benefits and contributions."

Any excuse, they say, is better than none, but this, coming from officials interested in making and maintaining secretaries' jobs, is too thin.

We suspect that the real reason is that without compulsion the Labour M.P.'s salaries and expenses could not be raised.

H. B.

DEBATES.

OUR Party, being what it claims to be—the Socialist Party—we have nothing to hide. We therefore invite the most searching investigation and fearlessly challenge the most merciless criticism of our opponents; and, conscious of the soundness of our position, the integrity, solidity, and consistency of our organisation, we glory in putting forward our representatives to undergo the ordeal of public debate. Not so, however, is it with other parties. Guilty conscience truly doth make cowards of them all.

In our November issue we struck a somewhat triumphant note, having succeeded in forcing a few of the enemy to toe the line. This, we now fear, has but further frightened the dealers in darkness, for many have cried off.

Two encounters, however, have recently taken place with an Industrialist Unionist at Woolwich, and a Liberal, a Mr. Marlowe Reed (a broken reed) at Wood Green. In each case the plight of our opponent was piteous in the extreme.

A full record of the shifts to which the enemy resort in order to evade our challenge would make an imposing volume, and while providing amusing reading, would furnish further justification of our attitude of hostility. But space allows only a few examples to be given. Remembering the mauling their representatives have already received from our speakers, the gentlemen of the Anti-Socialist Union are becoming as artful in their antics as they are slimy in their statements. Formerly they pooh poohed the idea of debates, but finding their cowardice recognised, their men now glibly throw out challenges, referring any who accept them to their Head Office. Afterwards they boast that no communication has been received. This was tried at Tottenham, but evidence of the delivery of a registered letter being produced, the Anti-Socialist Union woke up. Its next wriggle was to say that if we fixed up a man to represent the Socialist Party, the S.D.P., and the I.L.P., it would be willing to meet him in debate. There will be no debate. Our men are Socialists, and could no more defend the anti-Socialist S.D.P. or I.L.P. than they could defend the A.S.U. itself, and the A.S.U. knows it.

Another brave lot are the North London Tories. A speaker of the North Islington Conservative and Unionist Association challenged us. The challenge was accepted, whereupon their secretary, Mr. Didsbury, wrote repudiating the whole

matter, and stating that "if any speaker should at any time accept a challenge for a debate, that will be on his own responsibility, and not of the Association." But where is their union if they cut off their own speakers?

At Tottenham, at a meeting held and addressed by the Conservative candidate for the division, and also addressed by a real, live, noble lord, the chairman accepted a challenge to debate *Tariff Reform versus Socialism*. Our comrade, the challenger, was invited to the platform to confirm the challenge—an invitation he accepted—and the facts were reported in the local Press. Now, however, the Tory party have passed the matter over to the *Tariff Reform Working Men's Club*. This body claims to be non-political, and cannot discuss Toryism, Liberalism or Socialism, but they are willing to debate *Tariff Reform v. Free Trade*. They too, funk our challenge.

Clarionettes, and other musical instruments (as friend Dawkins would say), may have heard of Muir Watson, Clarion Vanner. This champion of confusion was tackled at Stoke Newington, and, to evade the ridicule of the audience, finally declared his readiness to defend the Labour Party in public debate with the Socialist Party's representative. A voluminous correspondence between us, and the Stoke-Newington I.L.P. and their Mr. Muir Watson, resulted in the I.L.P. (in deference to Mr. Watson) insisting that the debate must be private, and that they must have the right to veto our representative if they think fit. That plumbs the depths of political cowardice.

Another shining light of the I.L.P., Mr. Councillor EBURY of HECKMONDWIKE, accepted a challenge to debate, but now states that as he speaks for his living we will have to pay him to debate with us, and also pay his incidental expenses.

The above suffice to show the make-up of the motley crew of political prostitutes who, exploiting the misery of the poor, fatten by fostering their ignorance. It is up to the working class to recognise the Socialist Party as the only party of Labour; the party with the courage to seek out and do battle with all sections of the enemy; the party that with their assistance will chase all opponents off the earth, and gain the World for the Workers.

A. A.

JEMS FROM JEVONS.

IN Professor Jevons' little book, "Primer of Political Economy," we have the A.B.C. of capitalist exploitation. The aim of the book is to "put the truths of Political Economy into a form suitable for elementary instruction." It contains some wonderful "truths"; some soul-inspiring epithets. The frank and candid definitions, the sparkling lucidity of expression, the logical method of criticism, etc., etc., all tend to build up an invincible (!) defence of the present economic system.

The learned professor, in his chapter on "Capital," informs us how capital is obtained. Listen and give ear, therefore, ye discontented proletarians:

"Capital is the result of saving or abstinence," and "it can only be obtained by working to produce wealth, and then, not immediately consuming that wealth."

Really! How thrifty our magnates and exploiters must be, and how industrious! "Abstinence" and "work"! It appears strange that the poor devils who work fourteen and sixteen hours a day, and "abstain" with a vengeance from consuming, never become Carnegies or Rockefellers; but Jevons evidently did not bother his head about such trivialities as these. At any rate, he does not deal with the point. But our friend Karl Marx deals with it—let the learned professor give heed to the Marxian enunciation (or denunciation) of this "abstinence" theory:

"Moreover, the capitalist gets rich, not like the miser, in proportion to his personal labour and restricted consumption, but at the same rate as he squeezes out the labour-power of others, and enforces on the labourer, abstinence from all life's enjoyments." ("Capital," p. 605.)

Let the "scientific" minds but deny this statement, and they violate the truth. Capital is not the result of abstinence on the part of its

owner, but the fruit of exploitation.

We discover some more elucidative and highly instructive matter in the chapter on "Wealth Distribution." We are told at the commencement of this chapter that "we have now to learn the natural laws according to which distribution takes place, and ascertain how it is that many of the population get so little, and some so much." (Page 19.) The professor defines his terms so: "Wages = Payment for labour. Rent = Landowner's share of produce. Profit = Capitalist's share."

The last term evidently needs detailed explanation, for Mr. Jevons spends a little extra time upon it. "The capitalist," he says, "often acts as manager, and works every day almost as long as the worker." (Can he mean as the unemployed worker?) Further, we are informed that the capitalist "works with his head and his pen, calculating prices, choosing good workmen, and so on."

Beautiful, isn't it? But we read on: "It is necessary that a successful manager should have a considerable share of the produce, so as to make it worth his while to give his labour, and his share we call the wages of superintendence, and such wages are usually larger than the share of the labourer."

How logical, my dear Professor! No wonder the capitalist spend nine months of the year in holiday-making, after such mental stress.

"Another part of the capitalist's profit must be laid aside as recompense for risk. When misfortune happens it is the capitalist who mainly suffers, because he loses a great deal of money, on which he may have lived comfortably." Shades of the murdered miners of Whitehaven and Atherton, yes, very comfortably! And when "misfortune happens" to the miner, the seaman, the painter, or the bricklayer, who have not "a great deal of money" to risk, but only their lives, the workhouse is the only "recompense" provided to cover their risk.

Bah! Prostitution of intelligence, sir, to voice such damnable "truths."

"Profit = Wages of superintendence + Interest + recompense for risk." Such is the "scientific" definition with which the professor closes his chapter. Re strikes and "blacklegs" our author remarks "Those who strike have no right to prevent others from taking their places. If there are unemployed people, able and willing to work at the lower wages, it is for the benefit of everybody excepting the strikers, that they should be employed. The employer is right in getting work done at lowest cost, and if there is a supply of labour forthcoming at lower rates of wages, it would not be wise for him to pay more."

Such is the tone of capitalist economy. It is right to pay low wages, to sweat, to grind, to bleed white you men, women and children, that the cost of production may be low, and profits high. It is not right, and certainly not "wise," to pay and treat you better.

Workers, be on your guard! These learned minds (!) are the "advocates for the defence." Let Jevons & Co. preach their infamous gospel to the exploiters and sweaters; but you, give heed to our call, and let your whole force, physical and mental, be thrown against the system which breeds and upholds such anomalies.

W. J. E.

LAMBETH BRANCH

Are running a series of discussions on Friday evenings after their branch meeting closes, at 38, Brixton Road (first floor). All friends or foes are invited to attend and take part. Every facility will be afforded for questions and opposition, and opponents can rely upon courtesy being extended to them.

On Feb. 3rd the subject for discussion will be: "Can Trade Unionism better the conditions of the Working Class?" On the 8th the subject will be "Why John Holmes left the I.L.P. and joined the S.P.G.B." On the 15th: "Reform or Revolution—which?" On the 22nd: "The British Workman and the Alien." Commence at 8.45.

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the Socialist Standard, articles correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed: The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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The Socialist Standard,

WED.,



FEB. 1, 1911.

MORE MINERS MURDERED.

ONCE again the murderous nature of capitalism finds glaring exemplification in a wholesale slaughter of workers, and 344 miners (including a child of 13) are deliberately sacrificed on the altar of Cheapness. Scarce had the tragedy of Whitehaven ceased to occupy men's thoughts when, at Westhoughton, near Bolton, an even more dastardly outrage was perpetrated on the working class. As with Whitehaven, the first thing to be noted is the fact that several warnings had been published before the disaster, regarding the dangerous atmospheric conditions and the consequent likelihood of escapes of gas in the mines. In such circumstances a sane system of society would have suspended mining operations, but capitalist idlers must have their profits regardless of who perish. MONEY BEFORE MEN is their motto, and the workers must do and die or starve and die. That the gas was there the miners knew. Fear of the "sack" and the boycott kept them quiet, and fear of a hungry Christmas for wife and child kept them at work.

Of course we are told that this particular pit was "one of the best," and considered very "safe," but the men knew otherwise. "In this respect" says the Bolton Chronicle (14.1.11) "the fact that men have long known that this reputedly 'safe' mine was in reality a centre of peril and have not conveyed the information to those who would listen is disquieting."

But who would listen? Not the owners—full well they know the dangerous conditions under which they exploit the men; full well they know that "regulations" are ignored, because the interests of the dividend hunters must not be sacrificed to provide safety conditions for Labour.

Equally futile would it have been to approach the Labour "leaders"—these gentlemen are more concerned with the House of Lords, and boosting up Free Trade Liberalism, with the hope of Government jobs for themselves, than with the enforcement of Mines Regulations Acts in the interest of those from whose beggarly pittance, earned under awful conditions and at appalling risk, they meantime draw their comfortable salaries.

And so those martyrs of the mine went down to their doom, consciously daring death by explosion because to speak their fears meant the terrors of the boycott.

From the evidence given at the inquest on some of the victims we quote the following:

"Robert Boardman, Seddon-st., Westhoughton, identified his brother, George (23), who had worked on the conveyor. He said he had complained of gas, and came home twice a week for it. It was only a fortnight before that he was carried out because of it."

"Edith Seddon, Cemetery-st., Westhoughton, testified to her husband James Seddon (23), who, she said, had come home every night unable to eat because of gas."

Many other witnesses testified to complaints

of gas in the mine during the three weeks prior to the disaster while others had complained of sparks flying from the conveyor. It thus seems clear that an explosion of gas took place, but at the meeting of the Westhoughton District Council one of the councillors declared: "In this case and in every case where there had been an explosion, if the first general rule had been carried out, there could have been no explosion. He spoke rather feelingly, but the first general rule said that 'an adequate amount of ventilation shall be constantly produced in every mine to dilute and render harmless noxious gas, so that the workings, etc., shall be in a fit state for working and passing therein.'"

Again at the Conference of the Colliery Engineers' Federation, held in Manchester, Mr. Forshaw, the President, said:

"They must make the public realise that a great proportion of accidents were preventable. After nearly every explosion they got evidence that for weeks and sometimes months before the explosion the gas produced in the mines had not been dealt with and rendered harmless in accordance with the Mines' Act. If the rules were strictly adhered to explosions through gas would be impossible. The ventilation of some working places in many mines compared to what it should be under the rule was simply disgraceful."

Here, then, is clearly shown the double danger and futility of "reforms." These are passed and serve to make popular those who pass them. Their existence on the Statute Book lulls the workers into fancied security—from which explosions serve only to temporarily awaken them—they are "administered," or quietly ignored, as best suits the interests of the master class. Further striking proof of this is found in the alarming increase of "accidents" in the mines. In 1909 there were 1493 fatal accidents, an increase of 148 over 1908, while non fatal accidents were 151,268, an increase of 11,482. In 1910 the fatal accidents total 1769. Thus in every working day more than five men are killed procuring coal, which might be got as safely as digging potatoes—only it would not pay.

Could greater condemnation of this cursed capitalist system be pronounced than this—men are murdered because it pays? Answer, you Liberal and Tory, anti-Socialist working men! Can you look one of those bereaved of Bolton in the face without shame, knowing that you have voted into office the supporters of production for profit—the murderers of their loved ones—and will again? Will you never understand that these "regrettable incidents" are the inevitable fruits of the brutal system you sanction at the ballot-box, and that you are therefore jointly responsible for those callous crimes against your class? Or is the philosophy of capitalism—"One man dead is another man's bread"—good enough for you?

Coming so soon after the Whitehaven horror, and amid the "unrest" in the coalfields generally, there was the possibility that this affair might be the signal for trouble, or, more serious still, that the survivors might arrive at class-consciousness by brooding over their lot. So in the interest of "law and order," the preservation of profit and property, the thoughts of the sufferers had to be diverted from the cause of their grief. The aid of charity and religion was invoked; pennies and prayers were lavishly distributed and countless eulogies delivered on the devotion of the dead and the loyalty of the living. A relief fund was opened so that

"the charitable sneak
To lull the cry of toil might spare a trifle
from the spoil
He had wrung from the wreckage of the
weak."

£50,000 was asked for, but so great was the alarm felt by the master class that over £100,000 was quickly subscribed, and the fund had to be closed. Meanwhile the representatives of the Church, in the sordid interest of their capitalist paymasters, strained every nerve to prove that God was responsible for the disaster, and that the money-grabbing mine-owners were the most innocent and loving of men. From the deluge of demoralising drivel directed on this doubly unfortunate people we quote, in extenso, the following letter from the Bishop of Manchester:

"My Dear Friends,—Being unable to be pre-

sent with you at your memorial services, I am writing to express in a few words what I should have tried to say if I had been with you. It has pleased God to suffer an overwhelming affliction to fall upon you. Your homes are desolate and your hearts are broken and your eyes have witnessed sights too horrible for words. Almost all the ordinary consolations of death and bereavement have been denied you, but in all this trial God has been with you, granting such a full measure of faith, patience, and courage to overcome your sorrow that has been a wonder to all, and especially to those who have been trying to minister to you. For this we can all thank God. He who has given you this supplication will not fail you, not even in the long dark hours that lie before many of you. He will comfort the widows, the sweethearts, brothers, sisters, and fatherless children in their sorrow; the grief is there and no words of ours can take it away, but you will try to trust him more and more and to believe that promise: 'WHAT I DO THOU KNOWEST NOT NOW, BUT THOU SHALT KNOW HEREFTER.' May God be with you all and bless you. Yours in deepest sympathy and respect, E.A. Manchester."

Evidently the clergy did their dirty work well, for the vicar is able to say in the January issue of the "Westhoughton Parish Magazine," "We cannot but thank God for the spirit of submission and resignation which has been shown by the bereaved."

And no doubt the mine-owners again lolled comfortably in their clubs, while the miners again go down to the death-traps. Meantime, let us do well the work of enlightening our fellow-workers to the necessity of replacing the present murderous social system by one in which life shall be valued above coal. Our work for this end is the measure of the only genuine sympathy for the sorrow-stricken of Bolton and the poor oppressed slaves of capitalism everywhere. From the supporters of capitalism charity is an insult and sympathy a mockery. Stupified with the chloroform of religious cant and humbug, misled and ignorant through the teaching of their false friends the Labour "leaders" and professional politicians, some of the workers may forget and forgive; but we place it on record that the Bolton butchery is another of those brutal incidents in the infamous career of capitalism which shall neither be forgotten nor forgiven save in the day of Revolution and the triumph of Socialism.

PARTY PARS.

The Seventh Annual Conference of the Party will be held at Easter. Resolutions for the agenda are now in order. Already there are signs this will be a very important meeting. Every effort should be made to make it worthy of the cause.

A new Branch of the Party has been formed at Gravesend—Secretary, W. J. Wragg, Denton Hospital, Gravesend.

At the special Christmas morning propaganda meeting of the Tottenham Branch held at West Green Corner, the collection amounted to £2. This sum was forwarded to the Party treasury, and the Treasurer, greedy man, wants to know why other branches don't do better.

The Battersea Branch have already secured the Latchmere Baths for the purpose of a Paris Commune celebration on March 19th. This will prove one of the events of the year. Bravo! Battersea.

Readers in and around Woolwich are invited to attend a course of lectures to be delivered at the A.S.E. Institute, Glyndon Rd., Plumstead, on Sunday evenings at 7.30. Admission free. Questions and discussion allowed.

Feb. 5th—A. REGINALD: "The Great Man Theory."
19th—H. NEWMAN: "Reforms and Palliatives."
Mar. 5th—F. C. WATTS: "Socialism and Religion."

REVIEWS.

SOCIALISM VERSUS RELIGION.

- "The Inner Mission," J. B. Paton, D.D. J. Clarke & Co., Fleet Street. 1s. 6d. net.
"Christ or Socialism?" H. Musgrave Reede. Marshall Brothers. 6d.
"The Basis of Christian Socialism," H. C. Thompson. H. Henderson. 3d.
"Positivism and Socialism: a Discourse given at the Church of Humanity, Holborn, on the second day of the month Bant in the fifty-sixth year of the Religion of Humanity," by Philip Thomas. Watts & Co. 2d.

THE above are four religious publications, all concerned with the burning question that is dealt with in the latest pamphlet of the Socialist Party; and, let me add, all showing religion in its various phases as an obstacle to working-class emancipation.

The first need not detain one long. It will suffice to indicate its scope. It is blessed (and herein lies its value) by the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Hereford. It is a new edition of an old appeal for union between the non-Catholic churches for "social work." The bishop tells us in his foreword that this Christian Social Service is "destined to be the strongest and most pervading influence and safeguard against materialistic Socialism." So now you know.

In the body of the book one reads, amongst much other wearisome matter, that

to track the causes that give such power to Communism in our day must be the study of Christian men; for to encounter the foe we must know the springs of its strength. Communism also assails the other ordinances of property and labour, annulling the one and degrading the other to a mechanical uniformity, whilst it deprives the labourer of the reward that spurs and cheers him (sic). But its strange and delusive potency has arisen only from the sins of that society which it would destroy. And now Christian men and women have to assuage the evils which these sins have induced, and to assuage the sins from which they spring. Communism would destroy society: it is given to Christianity to save it.

Tell me the old, old story!
My only excuse for quoting the above is that there exist men who are ignorant enough, or dishonest enough, to maintain that Christianity and Socialism are practically synonymous.

The second booklet is more amusing. It is the life story of a "wandering soul." Like the previous book it is blessed by a bishop—perhaps to ward off evil spirits. And the Bishop of Durham laments that "the work of definite soul-awakening is far less frequently witnessed than say thirty years ago."

The author, Mr. Musgrave Reede, is stated to have been for twenty years an atheist and a Socialist, to have been associated with Charles Bradlaugh, and to have been one of the seven founders of the Independent Labour Party, and second of Blatchford's "fourth clause."

However, after much wandering in the wilderness, he was sent to America by his employers, and while crossing the Rockies the grandeur of the panorama so affected him that he suddenly "saw God." How strange that he never "beheld the glory of God and His wondrous works" in the factories, the slums, and the haggard millions of his native town!

On his return to England it was evident that his appetite for travel had been whetted, for he endeavoured to get a situation in the foreign missionary field. At last success came. Someone in India wanted, "not an ordinary missionary, but one who had received a business education"; and Mr. Reede modestly adds:

at the very time that I was feeling the need of a helper, God was indeed preparing such an one for that purpose. I therefore resigned my position at Messrs. Rylands, and turned myself to the living God. In faith I launched out, and in answer to prayer the Lord inclined the hearts of the late Rev. Francis Paynter and Mrs. Paynter to meet the entire expenses of outfit and passage to Madras.

There are no half measures about Mr. Reede. When he got converted he curiously went the whole hog. He swallowed the Bible story of creation without blinking. He believes in "possession" by a "personal devil," in original sin, and in all the rest of the dogmas of Christianity, and says that "In the Sermon on the Mount, and in the letters to the Apostles, were included all that

was necessary to the welfare of mankind!" Mr. Reede's acceptance of Biblical prophecy puts him in a peculiar position. He says:

Ultimately Jesus Christ will reign as king on this earth; but the Scriptures prophesy that before this takes place there will be a vast "apostasy" or "falling away" from revealed Truth, principally through Sacerdotalism and Rationalism.

and he adds:

I have never before been able to see how the conflicting nationalities of Europe could federate into one State; but I now see that the power that is going to accomplish this is Socialism. This Godless system of society will be the heaven that will leave all conflicting interests, and so weld together into one whole the myriad forms of rebellion against God. As soon as this occurs we may expect the second coming of the Lord... and the universal kingdom of God upon earth.

Now, if our converted atheist takes himself seriously and really wants the "Kingdom of God" to come quickly, is it reasonable on his part to fight against Socialism and oppose the fulfilment of prophecy? Should he not rather—but there, a wink is as good as a nod to a donkey that won't see.

After the above prophetic outburst it is quite refreshing to come across the following wail two pages further on. I quote it for the figures, which are useful.

Every church bears witness to arrested progress and falling off in attendance. In Liverpool, a sample city, in 1881, 40 seats out of every 100 were filled at morning worship in the Free Churches; in 1891, 31; in 1902, 25; in 1908, 12. So also evening attendance has fallen from 57 in every 100 seats in 1881 to 28 in 1908. The average morning attendance in 1881 was 274; in 1891, 212; in 1902, 170; in 1908, 85. So also the average evening attendance has fallen from 392 in 1881 to 190 in 1908. Are not these figures appalling? There is something wrong somewhere.

After telling us that Scripture prophesies a vast apostasy or falling away, our author says there must be something wrong because this comes to pass! Evidently Mr. Reede takes the Bible prophecies as seriously as I do.

The Bishop of Durham says that he "read this book with great interest, and often and again, with a greatly moved heart. Its value is manifold." Its chief value to us is that it shows to what desperate straits the Christian Church is reduced, that it must rely on the dissemination of such piffle in its death struggle with Socialism. On any other ground one must apologise for dealing with it.

The book is, in essence, an advertisement for the Bible Booklets which happen to be the goods Mr. Reede is dealing in. These booklets are puffed on almost every other page, and the reader is urged to send for samples. The whole book reads like a quack medicine puff; and, indeed, it is nothing else.

Mr. Thompson endeavours to find the "basis of Christian Socialism" in the Biblical denunciation of usury. But since usury was practically universally denounced previous to the capitalist system, there is nothing peculiarly Christian in this. The changed attitude of Christianity in this respect merely illustrates how religion is modified by economic conditions. Even Mr. Thompson is not opposed to commercial profit on a small scale. There is, moreover, an awkward parable in the New Testament which Mr. Thompson vainly tries to explain away. I refer to the parable of the talents. The slothful servant, it will be remembered, shamefacedly returned the one unused talent to his master, who made reply: "Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knowest that I reap where I sowed not and gather where I have not strawed, thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury." The faithful servant, on the other hand, "went and traded with the same and made other five talents." He was commended by his "lord." Our author, with more pluck than judgment, goes to great lengths in a vain attempt to show that Jesus meant the exact opposite of what he is reported to have said. Even were the booklet not otherwise entirely beside the question, this would suffice to condemn it. It makes it plain that the "Basis of Christian Socialism" is a false interpretation of the Scriptures.

The last of the four publications is perhaps

the worst. The author claims to be a Socialist. Speaking of the wheat corner he says:

My Socialism would stop that as a crime; but I am content to call it Liberalism, and to regard the Liberal Party as the instrument which secures the largest amount of social control and social welfare realisable at any given moment.

To this he adds:

needless to say, such a Socialism as this cannot be regarded, for a moment, as a thing of greed and ferocity, or even as subversive or destructive.

I disagree. Liberalism that he calls Socialism is decidedly a thing of greed and ferocity against the working class, while it is subversive and destructive of the last poor remnants of proletarian liberty and well-being. Belfast and Tony-pandy are but symptoms.

His Positivist ideal is a tragedy from any point of view but that of the capitalist. Comte's system would place no restriction on capitalist greed and ferocity but that of "moral suasion," which is to be exercised, under the forms of "counsel, exhortation, or rebuke," by the "Positivist priesthood in Comte's normal system." Huxley well described Positivism as Catholicism minus Christianity. Like orthodox religion, it takes its stand in defence of capitalism and private property. In the propaganda of confusion its adherents use the word Socialism to an aspect of modern capitalism; and, like the rest of religions, it tries to lure the workers away from their useful material aims. The author says:

It is the defect of Socialism to-day that it has too much of a material and not enough of a spiritual basis. It is here that Positivism and the Religion of Humanity offer a vast boon to the world.

The world of capitalists, of course.

It were idle at this time of day to deal at length with the unscientific nature of Comte's closed system, or with his premature classification of knowledge, or with the Utopian nature of Positivism as a whole. It suffices to class it with the nostrums just reviewed, as an agency of confusion, and a would-be obstacle to working-class supremacy.

WORKING-CLASS "PROGRESS" IN LANCASHIRE.

A STATISTICAL work, "The History of Wages in the Cotton Trade during the Past Hundred Years," has recently been published, and, as it is a reprint from the "Journal of the Royal Statistical Society," it cannot be expected to be anything but an attempt at a pean of progress. This volume (written by Mr. G. H. Wood) has received a hearty welcome from the Lancashire capitalist Press, but anyone not financially interested in perverting the truth—either being a capitalist or in the pay of one—can glean from the work instruction which supports the Socialist position. Labour leaders of the posing, pretentious, optimistic, Ramsay MacDonald type must have received many eye-openers from certain of the statistics in this volume.

In comparing the "ups and downs" of the wages of Lancashire cotton workers during the past hundred years five factors need to be borne in mind. (1) The nominal wages received, the amount of money for which the labourer sold himself to his employer. (2) The real wage received—the money wage compared with the necessities of life. (3) The larger number of children employed relatively to adults in the early part of the nineteenth century, thus lowering the average wages in the early half as compared with the latter. (4) The constantly increasing number of looms tended per weaver and the speeding-up of machinery. (5) The striking fact that the rate of wages—most of the cotton operatives are engaged on piece work—was no higher in 1909 than in the year 1853.

(1) Take the nominal wages received. Says Mr. Wood (p. 126) "It certainly needs very sound evidence to substantiate a conclusion which shows that the wages of all persons employed in the industry were as high in 1806 as in 1890, that a reduction of over 50 per cent. took place in so short a space as 25 years." And again (p. 129): "At Bolton (in 1806) we have as the earnings in that year, for various work, 22s., 21s., and 21s., at Wigan 22s., at Glasgow

17s. 8d. and 32s. 6d.. Wages had fallen by 1810, yet even in that year we have 16s. 3d., 16s. 10½d., 14s., 16s. 5½d., 17s. 2d., and 21s. as wages on various goods at Manchester, and 17s. to 24s. 6d., and 13s. 6d. to 17s. 2d. at Glasgow." This was the state of affairs just previous to the application of steam power to cotton manufacture, and if we reckon that working-class conditions for a century had been gradually deteriorating, we can see that truly he is an Ananias who would gabble about a century of progress. Certainly we do meet with some striking figures if we look a little beyond those "hungry forties." Labourists and Radicals wax so eloquent about.

(2) The cost of living—of house rent, fuel, and of necessities of life such as meat, butter, cheese, eggs, etc., has rarely, if ever, in any period of English history, reached modern prices.

(3) During a discussion at the Royal Statistical Society on this work, a speaker, dealing with this phase of our subject said: "At the beginning and at the end of the nineteenth century it appeared that the general average of wages of all operatives in the cotton industry had substantially the same level, which was a very remarkable fact. The proportion of children in the industry was substantially higher at the earlier date, and that would lead to the conclusion that the figures presented failed to represent fully the high level of adult wages at the beginning of the nineteenth century." Page 158.

(4) There has been a continuous increase in the number of looms tended per weaver, and this, together with the "speeding-up" of machinery, has accounted for any increase of wages over the temporarily low level of the "hungry forties." Our author here says: "From the introduction of the power loom the average weaver had one or two looms, rising to two and a fifth by about 1850, increasing slowly to two and two-fifths by 1860, and more rapidly after the cotton famine to two and four-fifths by 1870, and more slowly to three and one-fifth by 1877. By 1886 the average had advanced to 3.3 and by 1906 to 3.44." Page 143. And again: "that immediately hours were reduced it was found possible to speed up the different machines and get closer attention from the operatives; . . . the speeding up of the machinery in the cotton trade had been gradual and automatic; it probably advanced 1 per cent. per annum cumulatively from 1833." Page 161.

If the cotton workers had long "lived" at the "hungry forties" level there would have been no efficient labour-power in Lancashire for cotton lords to exploit. Mr. Wood informs us that after the shortening of hours by legislation the workers earned as much in the short weeks as in the previous long ones; they drew on their "reserves of personal efficiency": the shorter week and the same piece wages and the kiddies at home were a "stimulus to increased exertion," and the employers' "average of production per loom" was heroically kept at that mark which is one of the seven wonders of the world. Labour-power is on a par with other commodities, and all the capitalist world is subject to like laws. The Lancashire weaver receives a larger wage than does the Japanese weaver. This does not mean that the labour-power of the Lancashire weaver sells at above its cost of production; it does not mean that the Lancashire operative has leisure and luxury. It means that the Lancashire worker's labour-power is super-skilled, and that a reduction of wages would imply a reduction of efficiency. Capitalists are aware that low-priced labour-power is often costly labour-power. Labour-power of a sensitive kind, expended at high tension, must be rewarded at a comparatively high rate or it would deteriorate. Take away certain simple pleasures from operatives who for ten hours a day are expending an enormous amount of nervous energy, and you would soon populate the lunatic asylums and impair the workers' productive capacity.

I quote here from an article in the *Manchester Guardian* of January 2nd, 1911:

"It was Thomas Brassey who, in the middle of the last century, in his distinguished career as railway contractor, verified the truth that the cost of labour to the employer is not proportionate to the amount of wages paid per employee. Brassey dealt with labourers in different parts of the world, and found by experience that

it was less costly to himself to employ the British navy at 3s. 6d. per day than the Indian coolie at 6d. Exactly the same is true to-day in the cotton industry. In those countries where wages are low the cost of labour is high; conversely, in Lancashire, where wages are high, the cost of labour is low. The element of efficiency must be taken into account, and the true criterion of the cost of labour is the amount of wages in relation to the amount of work done."

The following table is from the same source.

Annual expenses per spindle for labour alone:		
In Lancashire	2s. 11½d.	
In Italy	4s. 5d.	
In France	4s. 5d.	
In Brazil	10s. 11d.	
In India	7s. 5d.	
In Japan	3s. 11d.	

This is thus the comparative cost of labour per spindle throughout the world."

In the "bad old times" female weavers used to take needlework and novelettes with them to their work to help while away leisure hours, but to-day weavers are "efficient"; the "amount of work done in relation to the amount of wages" is prohibitive of reading during working hours. When Indian weavers toil at the speed of their Lancashire fellow-proletarians they will perforce have to eat more; you cannot maintain the wonderful Lancashire "average of production per loom" off rice and water.

(5) "If we take an index number of 100 we find that the wages of Lancashire weavers were represented in the year 1853 by the number 110, and in the year 1909 by the number 100 (page 3). These piece-rate wages verify the assertion that any increased wages (apart from temporary fluctuations) must have meant work that was becoming more and more intense.

In Lancashire the men's leaders specialise in collective bargaining, and the trade unions have elaborate price-lists and agreements with the bosses' federations, settling the terms upon which these "leaders" sell the labour-power of their dupes. Mr. Wood in this connection says: "The value to Lancashire of organisation had been so great that he remembered Mr. Macara saying to him two or three years ago that if the people of Lancashire knew and valued Mr. James Maudeley as he did, they would put up a statue to his memory." It is spicy to add that Mr. Macara is a well-known leader of the masters, and Mr. James Maudeley a late well-known trade union official!

A century of progress! Yes, in exploitation and in the growth of Income Tax returns. How the "leaders" of the textile unions can read this record of a hundred years without shame and regret is an ethical problem of no mean dimensions. It is the old, old story of the lion and the lamb with the old, old ending. Not that the workers' "leaders" are the lambs; they are too far-seeing—the position of Senior (or junior or any other kind of) Adviser to the Home Office is more in their line. If the position of the working class could be ameliorated anywhere under capitalism, then Lancashire should be that place, and the past twenty-five years should have been the time. Men and women alike are organised in trade unions; they have trusted their "leaders" and followed and obeyed them; they have tried Liberalism, and then in turn have tried to terrify Liberalism with Labourism. They have tried thrift and providence and co-operation. But all to no purpose—capitalism is not to be beaten by such time-worn artifices, and soon it must be clear to these men and women workers that in Socialism alone lies the only hope for their class.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

ISLINGTON BRANCH

Are holding the following lectures on Thurs. evenings at 8.15, at Co-operative Hall, 144, Seven Sisters Road (entrance in Thane Villas). Feb. 2nd—"The Position of the S.P.G.B."

9th—"Why Socialism is Inevitable" J. FITZGERALD.

16th—"The Historical Development of Capital" R. KENT.

23rd—"Socialism versus Practical Politics" F. C. WATTS.

H. J. NEWMAN.

DESTRUCTIVE CRITICISM.

At almost any propagandist meeting held by the Socialist Party of Great Britain will be found individuals—many of them more or less sympathetically inclined toward the purely constructive policy placed before them—who resent most bitterly any criticism of capitalist society, and the various institutions springing from capitalism. One has only to mention religion, for example, in an adverse manner, or to criticise the various reform measures advocated by the orthodox political parties—Liberal, Tory, Labour or pseudo Socialist—and immediately there arises an outcry against our "destructive criticism" (terrible words), as these people delight to call it. They apparently do not, and cannot yet, realise that the many erroneous ideas concerning both capitalism and Socialism, held by the majority of the workers, must be destroyed before the possibilities of Socialism can be entertained, and Socialism itself established on the unshakable basis necessary for its erection and continuance.

From our point of view this charge of "destructive criticism," so far from being taken by us as simply opprobrious, is, as a matter of fact, rather in the nature of a tribute to the policy we are pursuing and a compliment to the success of our movement.

Suppose for a moment we take literature as an analogy. The criticism of a literary work—if such criticism be correctly given—will inevitably tend to destroy whatever in such a work is false to life and to the canons of literary art, leaving only that portion which is worth maintaining. So with our criticism of capitalism. If there were any part of capitalism that it was possible for a Socialist to defend, if there were any institution appertaining to our present system of society that we could uphold, then our defence and support would be given to such. When, however, it is found by scientific investigation and analysis that unemployment and poverty, with all their far-reaching concomitant evils, are inherent in capitalist society itself, then any institution or measure that is necessary to and helps to maintain and strengthen capitalism, must, of course, be subjected to our adverse and destructive criticism.

Religion, as has been clearly shown in our recent pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion" (particularly Chapter VIII.), "The Modern Purpose of Religion," is a conservative and reactionary; it is the antidote *par excellence* to Socialism; is, moreover, as Marx said, "the opium of the people." We, understanding these things, and understanding, also, how and why religion originated and has developed, are thus compelled to oppose with all our strenuousness the religious idea.

Again, with regard to measures of reform, fiscal, political and social. Capitalism is beginning to totter on its base. These reform measures are useful, are indeed necessary, to the dominant class, to prop up and keep standing a little while longer the present unhealthy and decaying social structure. But we as Socialists recognise that the object of the Socialist Party is, firstly, the acceleration of the downfall of capitalism, and, secondly, the establishment in its place of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community. Socialism and the reform of capitalism are quite incompatible, and only the confused mentality of S.D.P.ism and I.L.P.ism would attempt their reconciliation. We, for our part, take reform measures at their real valuation to the capitalists and their consequent reactionary disadvantage to the workers. We point out certain facts in regard to reforms and deduce certain logical conclusions from the facts so premised. If this process should tend toward the destruction of society as it at present exists, then we are accomplishing part of our object as a party, and the accusations levelled against us of "destructive criticism" only recoil on the heads of our accusers. "Let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung."

On every hand can be seen the rottenness of capitalism. Facts may be adduced, and multiplied by the hundred, proving up to the hilt our contentions regarding the evil conditions

under which the working class is compelled to exist. The following extracts from a speech by Mr. Lloyd George at the City Temple, on the 17th October last are very significant, more especially when it is remembered that they are the criticisms of the man who, four years previously, had publicly stated that if "slums, pauperism and great want in the land of plenty" were not removed in three years, "the Great Liberal Party (as he called it) would deserve to go, and a new movement would grow up to displace the Liberal" bunglers or rogues (vide speech at Birmingham, 22.10.06).

These are some of his statements at the City Temple (*Christian Commonwealth*, 19.10.10):

"There is a great unrest among the people. It is not confined to this country, it extends all over the world. . . . The area of disturbance precludes us from attributing this unrest either to Protection or Free Trade. East and West you get it in Protectionist and Free Trade countries alike. . . . Within a few scores, not hundred, yards of this magnificent building I have had cases brought to my notice of old women over seventy toiling the livelong day, morning, noon, and late into the night, only to earn a bare pittance, that just kept them above starvation, but never above privation, just enough to keep the machine from stopping. 68 or 70 were some of the cases; 3s. 6d. paid for rent."

"It is facts such as these—gigantic wealth at one end that a man cannot spend in a lifetime of luxury, at the other end millions torn with semi-hunger and the pain of poverty—that are producing the murmuring in the heart of Britain which shows there is some disease in its system."

"There is a numerous class without labour leading lives of luxury and indulgence. There is a vast multitude leading lives of laborious toil who die without ever earning sufficient for food or raiment or shelter."

The foregoing is a damning indictment of modern society and of the reform parties. That Mr. Lloyd George recognises the impossibility of solving the social evils under capitalism is shown in the same speech. He says, speaking of the problems awaiting solution: "We are hopelessly in arrears, and ere we have half settled one problem new ones have cropped up."

Mr. Lloyd George's impetuosity has apparently here led him to do something that is not often expected of him—that is, to adhere to the strict path of veracity.

We may very well conclude with the following "human document," not based on the speech of a Cabinet minister, but the testimony of a man who has been broken on the wheel of capitalism. It is taken from the *Daily Chronicle*, January 7th, 1911:

"One of the most extraordinary speeches probably ever made in a court of justice was delivered by a prisoner at Cardiff Quarter Sessions yesterday."

"Richard Barr, aged 28, was about to be sentenced for breaking into a co-operative store, when he said to the recorder:

"You have heard a record of a few of the deeds I have been guilty of. I feel proud of them; proud of my career; and proud also to think that the country must go to the expense of finding such a one as I legal aid."

"I am one of those degenerates you hear so much about—useless to the country, useless to my friends, and useless to myself. I am a living lie, and I know I shall never be anything else. Life is a gigantic fraud. Selfishness and oppression abound on all sides. The chief object in life seems to be that men should "do" their neighbours: if they don't succeed their neighbours will "do" them. I am one of those who "do" their neighbours. I believe in "doing" my neighbour, for it is but self-defence."

"My career might have been very different. What I am to-day, you, the recorder, helped to make me. Ten years ago last Monday you sent me to prison for six months. During those six months I learnt more rogues than I learnt before or since. During that time I determined to get my own back. I have done my best to get my own back, and to do injury to others. I think I have succeeded very well."

"Sentence of three years' penal servitude was passed."

The above two speeches, one by a Cabinet minister, the other by a convict, should to any one with ordinary intelligence, be destructive of

all belief and trust in capitalism as any criticism of ours could very well be. Further comment here is superfluous. It may be left to the reader to judge how far the Socialist Party's policy of analytical criticism is justified. If the matter is thought out without prejudice, only one conclusion can be come to: that while conditions in society remain as at present, the methods they are adopting are the only ones logically possible.

F. J. WEBB.

WAGES AND PRICE.

A CORRESPONDENT who states that he is in agreement with us, writes to me asking if it would not be possible to organise the workers into a union or party, to obtain some benefit by an increase in wages, or by a betterment of the conditions of labour, while awaiting the awakening of the mass of class-unconscious workers.

As his question seems to be one asked by many, I propose, with the editorial permission, to reply through these columns.

No part of the Socialist proposition seems more difficult to the average worker than the proposal to abolish money, price and trade. So deep has the idea of commerce been driven into the working class that they have come to believe themselves formed for the sole purpose of working and increasing trade.

In capitalist production the toiler is, indeed, just a piece of mechanism, necessary to the progress of trade, and he has been taught to believe that such is all he is fitted to be.

To-day we live to work, and the proposal of the Socialist—undoubtedly a revolutionary one—to reverse the sequence, to produce wealth in order to live, seems to be beyond the comprehension of the wage-slave. His brain, stored with capitalist ideas, cannot get away from the notions connected with capitalist methods of production and exchange, hence the information that under a Socialist system no wages would be paid comes to him as a shock.

Wages are the price of the commodity labour-power, and, as the Socialist object is to abolish the slave condition by abolishing the commodity nature of the worker's labour-power (for the worker cannot sell his labour-power apart from himself), his price (wages) must cease when his labour-power is no longer a commodity.

This being so, and the sale of labour-power being the basis of capitalist commodity production, the whole structure of capitalism must fall when its foundation is removed. Without the buying and selling of labour-power, commodity production cannot proceed, and for wages to cease means, not only that labour-power ceases to be a commodity, but that no commodities can be produced at all; while on the other hand, given the sale of labour-power, no matter what alterations may be made in other directions, the worker's labour-power remains a commodity, and must of necessity be bought and sold.

Hence the importance of being clear upon this question of what constitutes wages and what regulates the price of labour-power.

To talk of wages and exchange under Socialism betrays the ignorance of capitalist laws and the surface nature of the study of those who talk of "the socialization of capital and the means of exchange."

The value of labour-power is determined, as is the value of all other commodities, by the amount of socially necessary labour embodied in it, which is in this instance, the amount of labour-power required to produce the food, clothing and shelter necessary to maintain the average worker in efficient labour condition, and to raise future wage-slaves.

True the labourer might, under given conditions, force wages above the value of his labour-power, or be compelled to accept less than its value; but this fluctuation is held in check by two further laws of capitalism.

If, for instance, the supply of labourers is large compared with the demand, wages will fall; but they cannot fall far below the cost of subsistence or the labour-efficiency cannot be reproduced. On the other hand, should demand be high in relation to supply, the labourers may force up the price of their labour-power, but with what result?

The immediate result would be an increase in the price of necessities owing to the greater

purchasing power of the wage earners. At the same time a sudden increase in the total wages bill, other things remaining equal, means a corresponding decrease in profits, and consequently a decrease in the demand for luxuries on the part of those living on profits.

Trades dealing in these commodities consumed by the workers would now show rising profits, while in the "luxury" trades profits would decline. In consequence capital would be drawn from the latter branch of industry and thrown into the more profitable department. Hence a greater supply of necessities to meet the greater demand, and a fall in the price of necessities to the old level.

An increase of wages, therefore, would be a benefit to the working class; but could they maintain it under existing conditions?

The idea promulgated by certain Utopians, of cornering labour-power by organising and refusing to work under a certain price is, on the face of it, impossible. In the first place it leaves the capitalist buyer of labour-power with the whip hand. He has the store of surplus wealth, of commodities that can be kept for months, and the force to protect them. The worker is unable to store his commodity: he must sell his labour-power or it will perish. Should he for a time succeed in forcing up the price of labour-power (by keeping the surplus—the unemployed labourers) the result would be the introduction of machinery at present too expensive to work, and so partly counteract the increase in price. The employed would be unable for any length of time to maintain the flood of surplus workers let loose upon the labour market by the adoption of improved machinery, and wages would come down with a run.

We are forced to the conclusion that wages must approximate to the cost of living, and that such law must obtain while capitalism lasts.

Many have tried to show that wages are affected by population, and have argued that in an advancing State wages depend upon whether the capital or the population advances at the more rapid rate.

If, they say, the capital of the country increases more rapidly than the population, wages will rule high; but should the population increase at the greater rate, then wages will fall. In this country, with capital increasing far more rapidly than population, wages are continually falling. In France, along with an agitation for an increase in wages, which have fallen, it is alleged, below the cost of living, you have a national wailing over the continual decline of the birth rate.

In Ireland the population decreases and wages and conditions of labour there are as bad as elsewhere, while in countries like Spain and Italy the population increases enormously, and wages remain stationary.

On the economic field the masters have the controlling influence, and the workers, however organised, can do little. Strikes very seldom end in victory for the strikers, while often they are forced upon the workers in the interest of the master class.

In Parliament the capitalists control, and any measure of reform that might conceivably benefit the workers will not be passed.

The masters control on the economic field because they have control of the political machine, which places at their disposal the armed forces of the State, as witness South Wales, Belfast, and other well-known instances where, when the property of the employers is at stake, those forces have been used to bludgeon the strikers into submission.

A union is necessary—a union of class-conscious workers, determined to strike, not merely for an increase of wages, but for the abolition of the wages system. Such organisation must be political, because the masters' success in the industrial war is due to his political supremacy, and because the workers hold the balance of political power, and can, when they desire to do so, eject the capitalists from their place in Parliament.

Such an organisation must be composed of Socialists, because not only unity, but united action on class conscious or Socialist lines is required, and a class-unconscious organisation can do nothing.

While working for the proletarian awakening, we, with the remainder of our class, must suffer.

TWEL.

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WHO IS THE ALIEN?

THE WORKING-CLASS VIEW OF THE BURNING QUESTION.

THE recent world-stirring East End melodrama (in which provoking police agents seem to have pulled the strings) has afforded another opportunity to the capitalist platform, pulpit, and Press to thunder their well-worn epithets against the "alien." The pseudo-Socialist organisations and Press have, in their fear of losing supporters through this business, been profuse in their repudiation and condemnation of the "crime," and in their praise of the armed forces in dealing with it. It is, as usual, left to the Socialist Party to point out the Socialist lesson, both with regard to the "crime" and the anti-alien agitation which it served to stir up.

On contemplating all the facts of this mysterious anarchistic display, the question rises uppermost in our minds: "Who are the alien impostors and criminals?" And the Socialist answer is—"the capitalist class."

Why, the attempt to obtain property without labour is contrary to the very principles of Socialism, which insist upon labour for all and subsistence for all. But those who to-day are endeavouring to obtain wealth by filching—and with the aid of armed force into the bargain—are only carrying out the basic principle of capitalism to its logical conclusion.

Who is more honoured to-day than the successful thief, who has filched millions from the product of other people's toil? For his operations capitalist economists find such high-sounding names as "industry," "foresight," and "thrift." And who is more despised and down-trodden than the worker, whose labour produces all wealth? His outrage and robbery, so long as it is carried on in the orthodox way (which converts the plunder into "rent, interest, and profit"), is "legalised" by the robbers and supported by giant instruments of murder, while his aspiration to keep for himself the produce of his own toil, draws down upon him every term of reproach and contempt.

Let us look back upon the record of the British Government for the last twenty years, and we shall see that the armed forces of capitalist society have been used again and again against unarmed, defenceless workers—men, women, and children. In contrast to this, the modern burglar is up against the whole force of the State, armed to the very teeth.

In September 1893, the Liberal Government, with Mr. Asquith as Home Secretary, sent soldiers to Featherstone, and striking miners were fired upon, some being killed and others wounded. (See "Hansard," vol. 17, pp. 1725-1726.) In 1894 the same Government sent a gunboat to Hull to help quell the dockers on strike in that town. In August 1907 a Liberal Government again sent military

with Maxim guns to Pellast, where a lock-out

of dockers had taken place, and the police had gone on strike out of sympathy. In that instance again unarmed workers were maimed and murdered. And recently during a lock-out of Welsh miners, troops and police were sent to fight the master's battle for them, and once more wounds and death were dealt out to defenceless workers who wanted to enjoy a little more of the fruits of their toil.

Now if it can be shown that the capitalist class have obtained their possessions by robbery, that in the process of robbery thousands of workers' lives have been sacrificed, and that in their effort to protect their ill-gotten gains they employ the armed forces of the State to butcher the workers, then it is proved up to the hilt that it is the master class, and not the foreign workmen, who are the real aliens, the race apart from and antagonistic to, the people.

The last point has been sufficiently proved by the preceding description of the British Government's action during certain strikes and lock-outs. The first point is most fully and effectively established by Karl Marx, in his great work "Capital," particularly in the historic chapters, which are based on documentary evidence in the British Museum. The second point, however, still requires substantiation.

Now according to Government statistics about 2½ million members of the working class are annually in receipt of poor relief.

And a Few That means that they are, to all intents and purposes, on the very verge of destitution. Over

Elquent 200,000 workers annually meet with accidents (over 5,000 fatal) in the course of their employment, and most of these accidents can be traced to the want of life protecting contrivances—which are not adopted by the master class because their cost would lessen profits.

In addition to this, many thousands gradually starve to death, for not all unemployed and destitute workers apply for poor relief. Thousands, too, die through over work, bad housing, and insanitary conditions, or are driven insane by the awful economic stress of the present system of society.

So the Socialist allegation that capitalism spells the robbery and murder of the workers by an alien class is fully justified. And the workers in the East End, against whom the master class direct their epithets of "undesirable aliens," "dirty foreigners," and the like, and against whom they assiduously try to foster popular hatred, these workers form a part of the army of the exploited. And as such they are received with open arms by the very class which, in order to cover their own plundering, attempt to direct popular anger and scorn against them, as the authors of working class poverty.

When in 1905 during the debate on the

Alien Bill in Parliament, an amendment was moved to keep the foreign workers out during strikes and lock-outs, the great mass of the members of Parliament, representing the vested interests of the capitalists,—the robbers living upon rent, interest, and profit—of course rejected the amendment.

The patriotism of the master class, like their professions of kindness, generosity, and magnanimity, is sheer hypocrisy. In the quest for profits all barriers are broken down, and the capitalist's love of his country withers before a fraction per cent. on the yield of his capital. He has no scruples in the matter of displacing the native worker with the "alien," provided that it pays him—any more than he hesitates to displace either with machinery, directly he can save wages by so doing.

We do not stand alone when we allege that the "alien" workers of the East End are even more completely robbed and worse treated, if that were possible, than the native workers. The Rev. Canon Larnett, of Toynbee Hall fame, writing in the *Daily News* of January 10th last on the "Sidney Street Lesson," made the following statements:

"The great need in East London is that the people by receiving more respect should gain self-respect. They do not receive such treatment. The streets in which they live are not lighted or cleaned according to the standard which respectability demands. The second or third best in buildings or in entertainments are good enough for the East End, and Police Court honour and Police Court law, which most vividly represent the attitude of society, are often insulting. I doubt if it would have been possible for the police to have adopted in a West London Square, the methods they adopted in Sidney Street. Respect for the neighbours and neighbourhood would have prevented them from setting men to fire at and to burn two criminals in the open streets."

And what has Robert Blatchford, the jingo cat's paw of gutter press journalism, to say on that question? The following are from his article in the *Weekly Dispatch* of January 8th.

"Our wise and kindly British law was not made to deal with foreign Thugs of the twentieth century type. . . . I am not discussing the existing law. I am only suggesting that the police should be legally empowered to deal with undesirable aliens immediately on their arrival at any British port. In all such cases as this, where the foreign police have warned our police against an immigrant, that immigrant should be

A "Socialistist" sent to the right about at once. In cases of suspicion the immigrant should be detained and failing a satisfactory explanation, should be deported."

The above is not quoted with a view to prov-

ing Mr. Blatchford to be an anti-Socialist of the worst type. His actions have fully exposed him, and very few people indeed can still believe him to be out for Socialism. His German war scare, his glorification of the Army and Navy, and lastly his present attitude on the "alien" question, show distinctly enough that Mr. Blatchford is ignorant of the very rudiments of Socialism. And that is not the most annoying feature. That which Socialists most resent is that the capitalist class should obtain from professing Socialists, advice as to measures of repression and persecution against members of the working class.

The whole Houndsditch spectacle looks as if it had been instigated by Russian police agents in order to create a popular clamour for legislation against "criminal" aliens, to the end that political offenders (especially Socialists) might have cut off their last means of escape from the savage vengeance of the knout and the appalling horrors of Siberia.

The capitalist press, pulpit, and platform continually gloat over the apathy and indifference of the workers hailing from other countries to their own utter poverty, misery, and degradation, and whenever the dominant class make an attack upon the Socialists it suits their purpose to praise these "aliens" up to the skies as splendid examples of "peaceable and law-abiding citizens." On the other hand the master class, when it suits their purpose, ascribe the poverty of the native workers to the presence of "alien workers" in this country, or to the importation of labour products from abroad.

In short, it is the business of the capitalists to set one section of the working class against another in order to prevent them perceiving who are their real enemies. Hence the outcry against the "alien" which has followed upon the recent affray. But the development of the present murderous system is gradually revealing to the workers of all countries, that between worker and worker there can be no alienism, because there can be no alienation. They are bound together by the common ties of their class position—a common class interest. On the other hand, they have nothing in common with the master class, whose interests are everywhere opposed to theirs. Therefore it is the master class who are the aliens.

H. J. N.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A. E. HESTER writes:

- (1) Production under your system must be international, obviously therefore each country will be interdependent upon the other. They must, then, agree to sustain each other in food, clothing, etc. Is this possible?
- (2) How could each get the full value of his labour?
- (3) The natural wealth of some countries is greater than others, who could not produce on equal terms.
- (4) If Production is to be national, then Socialism is impossible and not worth consideration.

(1) Even under capitalism countries are interdependent, and, in a sense, "sustain each other in food, clothing, etc." Hence your query "Is this possible?" is answered in the affirmative by the facts around you to-day.

(2) No Socialist says that "each man will get the full value of his labour," for the simple reason that, as the Socialist is always pointing out, production under Socialism will be social—as, indeed, it is to-day—and no man can say exactly what is the value contributed.

What the Socialist says is that the working class is the only section of society engaged in wealth production, and therefore the working class, collectively, should own the results of its applied energy.

(3) No one country has greater natural advantages in every direction than another. Some have the advantage in one way, some in another. And, as the development of International trade has shown, these advantages, or their results, are being exchanged in increasing quantities.

(4) The most elementary examination of present day trade shows that production is growing more international year by year. Raw materials from one part of the globe are worked up in another; goods partly manufactured in one country are finished in another, and so on. Your query, therefore, has no basis in fact.

J. F.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

FRANCE was at war with Prussia. On September 4th, 1870, Paris proclaimed the Republic. A similar proclamation immediately followed throughout France.

The real leaders of the working class were in the Bonapartist prisons, and Thiers, one of the foremost men in the Bonapartist regime, was allowed to act as their statesman, and Trochu as their general, on the one condition that they held these posts for the sole purpose of

NATIONAL DEFENCE ONLY

against the Prussian invaders.

Now Paris armed its workers to defend itself against the Prussians, but here a difficulty presented itself to the capitalist class. If the workmen of Paris should gain a victory over the invader, they would undoubtedly take the Government of the town into their own hands—a thing most undesirable to the master class—and as the Manifesto of the International puts it, "In this conflict between duty and class interest the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection."

Thiers and Trochu, playing the game of the capitalist class, did all in their power to assist in the fall of Paris. From the first Trochu admitted that Paris could not stand a siege, yet Thiers, Trochu, Favre, and the rest of the so-called Government of National Defence, had bombastic and lying manifestos issued, declaring that "the Government of Paris will never capitulate," "Jules Favre, the Foreign Minister, will not cede an inch of our territory nor a stone of our fortresses." But Favre admitted in a letter to Gambetta, that they were defending Paris

AGAINST THE WORKERS.

and not against the Prussian army."

Documentary evidence has since been produced which plainly shows that, amongst those in command, it was well understood that Paris should capitulate, and on January 28th, 1871, the Government of National Defence fully exposed the treacherous game it was playing by assuming the title, with the permission of Bismarck, of "The Government of France."

When the Commune was established a good deal of evidence of the treachery was discovered, to regain which, says a manifesto of the Commune, "these men would not recoil from battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed by a sea of blood." This prognostication proved to be absolutely correct.

Paris was invested, and five months later the gates were thrown open to the besiegers. The National Guard (consisting chiefly of workmen) had been provided with armaments by public subscription, and their weapons therefore were their own property. As such they were recognised and

EXEMPTED IN THE GENERAL SURRENDER.

On the eve of the capitulation the Government took no precautions to safeguard these weapons, but cunningly left them where they would be most likely to fall into the hands of the enemy. The National Guards had elected a Central Committee, and they had the guns removed to Montmartre, out of the reach of the Prussians.

Prior to this Thiers had travelled Europe in an endeavour to "barter the republic for a crown." The great obstacle in the way of the restoration of the monarchy was armed Paris, the stronghold of the republicans, and "Paris armed was the Revolution armed." This in itself explains why the guns of the National Guard were left to be captured by the Prussians. This move having failed, the question that presented itself to the arch traitors, Thiers & Co., was how to disarm the Parisian workers. So, under the pretext that "the artillery of the National Guard belonged to the State," Thiers ordered them to deliver it to the Government.

The National Guards refused to comply, and, thwarted in their trickery, the National Assembly sent regular troops in the night to take the 250 pieces of ordnance from Montmartre. This was nearly successfully accomplished, but, with astonishing lack of foresight, no means of transport were provided, and the delay which ensued enabled the citizens—men, women, and children

—to surround the guns and fraternise with the soldiers. General Lecomte ordered his men to FIRE UPON THE PEOPLE.

Four times the order was given, but when they did fire it was to dispatch Lecomte himself.

So sure were the Government of success that they had beforehand printed their bulletin of victory, and Thiers held ready the placards announcing his measure of *coup d'état*; but now these had to be replaced by an announcement that he had resolved to leave the National Guard in possession of their arms, with which, he said, he felt sure they would rally round the Government against the rebels. "Out of 300,000 National Guards," says the Manifesto of the International, "only 300 responded to this summons." The glorious working men's revolution of the 18th of March took undisputed sway of Paris. The Central Committee was its provisional Government.

If the Government blundered in the attempt to seize the guns, an even worse blunder was committed by the revolutionaries in allowing the National Assembly to escape when they had them at their mercy. Instead of arresting them they allowed them to march to Versailles, which town they made their headquarters. And here, with the assistance of the Prussians, who released the prisoners of war on condition that

THEY FOUGHT AGAINST THE COMMUNARDS.

they were enabled to get together an army.

On the 18th March the Central Committee issued a manifesto which said: "The Proletarians of Paris, amidst the failure and treason of the ruling class, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of Public affairs. They have understood that it is their imperative duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies by seizing upon the Governmental power."

The Commune was proclaimed, and its officials, elected by universal suffrage, were the acknowledged representatives of the working class. The police were converted into the responsible and revocable agents of the Commune, as were all the other officials. All services were rendered for workmen's wages. "The vested interests and the representation allowances of the dignitaries of State disappeared along with those dignitaries themselves." The Church was disestablished. All Educational institutions were thrown open free to all. The Post Office, placed under the direction of a workman named Theisz, raised the salaries of all its employees and reduced their hours. Night work in bakeries was abolished. A labour exchange was established which recommended the return of pledges to all necessitous persons, and the suppression of the pawnshops, as the Commune intended to give guarantees of support to workmen out of employment. All offices appear to have been most ably administered, except the War Department, which made a series of blunders. But with the Versailles army being reinforced by Bismarck,

PARIS WAS DOOMED.

Sunday, the 21st of May, saw the Communards gathered in the Tuilleries Gardens at a concert held in aid of the widows and orphans of the National Guards slain in the defence of Paris. A similar concert was to take place the following Sunday, but already the Versailles troops were in the city, having entered by the gate of St. Cloud without opposition. And in a few hours black smoke was pouring over Paris from her blazing buildings, and her gutters ran with the blood of her workers.

Consternation reigned among the Communards when the news was announced, and the sitting of the Commune then in progress—the last as it proved—was soon afterwards dissolved. The one thing that now seemed to occupy the minds of all was how to defend their own particular quarters. Barricades were erected at all points, men, women and children assisting in the work—but all was hopeless endeavour. One by one the barricades were battered down and their defenders butchered.

Hundreds were taken prisoners by the Versailles Government. The "London Daily News" said that General Gallifet ordered hundreds of

MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN

out of a column and had them shot down without even the pretence of a trial. The correspond-

JOTTINGS.

THE following is culled from the front page of that ultra-respectable journal, the "Labour Leader":

LET LIARS PERISH

and prove the truth that Socialism is not Atheism by helping me with

10,000 Socialist Shillings.

Cheques or Bank Notes to help pay off debt of £800 on my New Church, Rev. W. Schofield, Manchester. Thy will be done on Earth. United we stand.

This from the Church! that deadly foe of all intellectual progress, the enemy of Science and the upholder of slavery. Could barefaced cheek go farther?

* * *

This same gentleman at the last General Election, speaking at a meeting in support of Mr. John Hodge, Labour candidate for the Gorton Division, stated that "he was not a Liberal, in fact he hadn't a vote at all, but he recognised very clearly that Liberalism and Labourism were identical, and the Liberal workingmen in the audience would be nodules indeed to waste their votes when they could achieve the same object by voting for the Labour man" (cheers). That "object" was the veto of the House of Lords. After appealing for Liberal votes for a "Labour" candidate, he now appeals for "Socialist shillings" for the purpose of still further prolonging the process whereby the workers are reduced to a condition for being all the more easily exploited by the master class. I am fairly safe in affirming that he will not get one Socialist shilling.

* * *

Not only are the working class deluded into voting the parasites into power, they are even required to pay for the chloroforming process which keeps them in ignorance and upon which the capitalist sharks rely so much. These gentry profess to believe in a special Providence: why don't they appeal in that direction?

The fact is that when it comes to a question of £ s. d., they are as materialistic as the most brazen Atheist. They evidently believe in practising the (slightly altered) dictum, "you will be done on earth." When will the workers get wise to this?

* * *

Speaking at the Prince's Theatre, Blackburn, on Jan. 22nd, under the auspices of the local I.L.P., Mr. Philip Snowden said:

"Socialism is nothing more than a scheme of industrial reorganisation for the reconciliation of Capital and Labour by placing the ownership of land and capital under democratic control. Out of all their theories they have now evolved that concrete idea."

That's all!

* * *

In his opening remarks Mr. Snowden said "He had felt for a long time that the I.L.P. had been so much engaged in mere political work that they had not paid the attention which was needed to the education of the people in the fundamental principles of Socialism."

The reason is that they do not understand the fundamental principles of Socialism—excepting perhaps, these few who hold to the opinion that where it touches the pocket to tell the truth, it is the very height of folly to be wise. To speak of reconciling Capital and Labour under Socialism is an obvious attempt to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds—but it pays at the moment. Mr. Snowden professes to believe in a kind of harmony between Capital and Labour, but the only harmony I can conceive is that existing between the horse-leech and its victim. Besides, I was not aware that capital would exist at all under Socialism. The existence of capitalism presupposes exploitation. But, of course, Mr. Snowden, being interested in the maintenance of capitalism, cannot be expected to shout that truth from the housetops.

* * *

This according to Liebknecht: "Whoever conceives of Socialism in the sense of a sentimental philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of the evils of capitalist society, is no Socialist in the

sense of the class struggle, without which modern Socialism is unthinkable."

The working class must learn that it need expect nothing from any political party that does not stand upon the basis of the class struggle. The S.P.G.B. is the only party that takes up this position, therefore it is the only party of the workers.

* * *

A remarkable letter penned by a suicide was read at an inquest held at Aldershot recently on the body of an unknown man who was found decapitated on the railway. The deceased wrote:

"Kindly free from censure the courageous driver of that train responsible for this another tragedy. The cause of this tragedy is the unfair distribution of work. I have searched in vain, for the past three and a half months, for a situation.

"But I say the time is coming when a man who becomes really conscious of the real cause of this hellish drama, the unfair distribution of work, will not commit, as I have done, suicide; but will instantaneously arm himself with a revolver, and he will make a 'B' line for the Prime Minister of the country and make him pay the penalty with his life.

"I have been to church—the manufactory of crime—and I am convinced that if people from the North, South, and East refrain from going to church after this day, there will be no recurrence of the Sidney-street affair.

"I do not believe in murder, nevertheless I warn the leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister of this country of the real and, as I believe, proper conviction that is growing—it cannot be stopped.

"Now I am afraid I shall have to close up as my train will be here presently.—Good bye, BIRROX."

The jury returned a verdict of suicide whilst of unsound mind. Of course! It would not do to say that this hellish system of capitalism had forced him to seek oblivion, would it? It might enlighten the proletariat. And how near to the truth this poor devil got, to say that he was insane. If he had elected to kill someone else instead of himself would he have been found insane? I venture to think not.

TOM SALA.

SPEEDING-UP THE ADMIRALS.

Avast there, comrades! Haul in your slacks while I shiver my timbers.

The Navy, sirs, is going to the dogs. Senior officers are now expected to know something, and a special instructional course began at Portsmouth on Feb. 13, with fifty rear admirals, captains, and commanders as pupils. How George must congratulate himself upon his shore appointment!

Feel for a proud flag officer like W. B. Fisher, fifty-seven years old and second in seniority, having to study gunnery and torpedoes. It is related of a distinguished admiral, who sometimes neglects to eat between drinks, that he once rolled up on deck and gazing wildly at the far horizon, gasped: "Say, is that a sea-serpent?" He was told that it was. "Thank heaven!" he exclaimed, with relief. "I thought I had 'em again." Now, so absurd a position could not have occurred had the great man learned at a special instruction course for senior officers to recognise submarines at sight.

Cato studied Greek long after he became entitled to the old age pension—at eighty, I believe. But Greek is less undignified than signals and naval war, through a course of which Admirals F. T. Hamilton and Herbert Lyon, aged fifty-four, are compulsorily fagging. Waterloo was won in order to advertise the playing fields of Eton and Harrow. Let us hope the Government won't get up another Trafalgar in order to star their special instructional course for senior officers.

Seriously, this speeding-up is a national menace. While it affected only the productive working class, it did not much matter. But if it spreads to the upper ranks of employment, it may reach the Civil Service and compel the bureaucrats to work. In which case the "end of all" is a safe prediction. A. HOSKINS.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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WED., MAR. 1, 1911.

"BUT HUMBLY REGRET—"

"The Labour Party stands pledged to the Right to Work as a fundamental principle, and every member is in honour bound to do all he can to fulfil the pledge."

So says the official organ of the Independent Labour Party on Feb. 17th, in the midst of a wail that only thirty of the Labour M.P.s (including the tellers) supported the Right to Work amendment, while one of them actually voted against it.

Why did the Labour members hesitate to support their "fundamental principle"? Why did they not dare move an amendment to the Address, nor introduce their "fundamental principle" in the last Parliament?

It is because the Labour Party in the House only exists by permission of the Liberals, as the last three general elections have proved. Any suspicion of a vote of censure upon the capitalist Government (however necessary such bluff may be to quiet the murmuring rank and file) is consequently fraught with grave danger to Labour M.P.s.

We know how these adjuncts of Liberalism obtained their votes. And Mr. Russell Williams, in a communication to the *Labour Leader* (Feb. 17th), states in reply to a Labour Conference denunciation of traitors who took Tory gold:

"Why a distinction between Tory gold and Liberal gold? There are members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons who make no secret of having received Liberal gold with which to fight their elections—and from Liberals who were fighting Labour men, fully endorsed by the Labour Party. Do these men come under the category of cowards and traitors?"

We pause for a reply.

The need for making at least a show of independent existence caused the Right to Work amendment to be moved this year; but how apologetic were mover and seconder, how they cringed before the Government! Their amendment "humbly" regretted that no promise of a Bill had been made. Said Mr. O'Grady in moving (we quote from the official report):

"Had we not been unlucky in the ballot probably this amendment would not be moved. . . I know that every single member of this House is as sympathetic towards the unemployed as we are ourselves, and I am sure that this motion will be considered, not merely with sympathy but with fairness."

And he also said that there is

"... upon the Statute Book one of the finest pieces of legislation in any civilised community in the world, and if it were put into operation it would effect the purposes contained in our motion. I speak of the Development Act. That Act contains every proposal of the Labour and Socialist movement for the last 25 years, proposals about afforestation, erosion of the coast, light rail-

ways, and reclamation of land."

Thus do the decoy ducks of Labour repay the Liberal support they obtain, and demonstrate their identity with Liberalism. Nearly every subsequent speaker complimented them on their "moderation" and "fairness." Mr. H. Harcourt particularly referred to Mr. O'Grady's "moderate and friendly speech."

But no "statement of the barest truth" can be "moderate" in capitalist ears; no champion of the working class can be friendly to the capitalist class. The fulsome capitalist flattery of Mr. O'Grady sets the seal upon his utter worthlessness to our class. But what of the Bill in question?—is it any good?

Except that, owing to the hostility of local bodies, the State is to be made mainly responsible for its working, it is the Bill brought before Parliament by the Labour Party three years ago. Then even Labour members admitted that no effective remedy for unemployment is possible under capitalism, yet they claim that their Bill would deal effectively with that question. Such is the "logic" of their position.

To really provide reasonable work or maintenance for all workers would make the wage-labourer master of the labour-market and disrupt capitalism. How childish it would be, then, to beg the capitalist class to be so kind as to commit suicide!

If effective and useful, therefore, the passing of the Labour Party's Bill would require a social revolution; but it is neither.

In spite of denial, it seems no more than systematic relief works. Its principle is that of the workhouse stone-yard. And there is nothing to prevent men being engaged, as in the past, at exceedingly low "relief" rates to do work which would otherwise occupy the same men at full rates of pay.

It is true, as Mr. Forster said in the House during the recent debate, that it "must cause more unemployment." And he went on to say, with equal truth:

"I am verified in that view by a statement contained in the report of the Poor Law Commission. They say that work and wages provided by local authorities is in practice either diverted from the ordinary employees in the localities, or extracted from what would otherwise have gone to regular workers, with the result in either case of creating, sooner or later, larger unemployment."

And what are the other essentials of the Bill? Its clause 3 is sometimes held to provide work at standard rates, but its wording is fraudulent. As Mr. J. R. McDonald confessed in the Commons when the Bill was brought forward, the clause "may be badly worded," but "it did not mean that the local employment authority must provide work at trade union rate of wages." No, the rate is only such as the capitalists may consider "reasonable," and that means hell for the workers.

And if a man refused the hellish conditions that may be offered to him?

The authority is empowered under clause 7 to get an order "to enforce control of the person named in the order for a period not exceeding six months, which period must be passed in the performance of reasonable work under the control of the local employment authority."

Now you have it. The capitalists as a class hardly dare go so far. It means that you must accept any conditions, however bad, in the labour market. If you cannot get even this, then the employment authority will give you work under still worse conditions. If, however, you decline to be still further degraded, they may give you six months penal labour!

This they call the Right to Work!

It is superfluous for Messrs. Clynes and O'Grady to say, as they did, that they are not defenders of the "wage-workers." This Bill speaks for itself. But their talk about loafers at both ends of the scale is shown to be the veriest clap net, because they would allow the well-to-do loafer to go free, but would provide a further punishment for the poor one.

No, the most unhappy victim of capitalism finds no defenders among the Labour Members. On the contrary, they would add one more scorpion to the scourge of scorpions inflicted by capitalism upon the most miserable and unfortunate of men.

It is not the Right to Work that is needed by

the workers, but the opportunity to live; and Socialism alone can grant them this. The legal Right to Work imposed upon the proletariat would only emphasise the "right" of the non-working class to be idle. The "Right to Work," indeed, excludes the right to live. It means only our "right" to our claims! And the Labour Party, in its characteristic work of legalising the right of the slave to his slavery, at the same time consecrates, to the greater glory of capitalism, the "right" of the wealthy parasite above to his ill-gotten gains and his laziness.

THE PRINTERS' STRIKE.

During the past few weeks the equanimity of London Printers has been disturbed by a strike of some magnitude on the question of hours. The men have taken action in support of a demand for a 48 hour week, and though at the time of writing the strike is not at an end, it looks very much as if the employees will succeed in obtaining the demand they put forward as a compromise: 50 hours immediately, and a future consideration of the 48 hours question.

Now the attitude of the orthodox Press toward this strike is full of significance. Silence can be more eloquent than speech, and their silence carries an important testimony as to the reality of the class struggle to those that have ears to hear. But of more significance than this, and of infinitely greater importance, is the attitude taken up by the men's leaders, and reflected in the organ of the movement, the *Daily Herald*.

We have said that silence can be more eloquent than speech. This paper which the printers have founded to be their mouthpiece in the struggle, no less than the silence of the men's leaders, is further evidence of that.

The dumb capitalist Press by its very silence proclaims in thunder tones the class struggle, while the quiet tongues of the strike leaders, and the still columns of their organ are vehement charges of treachery and cowardice against those who do know the true position, and a pathetic index of the ignorance of those who do not.

In every quarrel between masters and men, we take up the position that, as between masters and men, the latter can never be wrong. But in the matter of their conduct of the fight, we have seldom found a British trade union in the right—and the present strike affords no welcome exception.

Granted, in the first place, that workmen must, however little it may affect their class position, struggle continuously to secure the best price and conditions for their labour-power, granted also that at the moment trade unionism may be the most effective means to that end, still the vital thing has not been said.

After all, where does trade union effort land the workers? After each "famous victory," after the most famous victory that any trade unionist, as such, and under the affliction of the most violent form of palpitation of the imagination, ever dared dream of, where do the victors stand? They may have held their own; they may have recovered a little of what was their own. "Simply that, and nothing more."

This much is confessed by the men's leaders when they admit that they have been driven to the present action by the great increase of unemployment consequent upon the advance of machinery and the general speeding-up that has taken place in all branches of the printing trade. For if that is so, it is an admission that all they can hope for from victory is the regaining of some of the ground lost of recent years.

Of course, as far as the men's action goes it is sound enough. Everyone who has anything to sell must fight for the best terms—that is a presupposed condition of the competitive market—and those who have only their labour-power to sell are no exception. But if after each battle the workers have only regained something of what they have lost, or let us even say all that they have lost; if each succeeding conflict is to find an ill leave them in the same state of mental torpor, with the same paralyzing faith in the union and the strike as their economic salvation, and no outlook beyond a stronger position as sellers of labour-power, then indeed Hope may seduce by the wayside and turn her eyes backward over the way we have come—for there is nothing to gladden the men in the way we are going.

For, think! These men demanded a reduction of 4½ hours per week, and the limitations of their union are shown by their compromising, in the midst of a "winning fight," for a 2½ hours reduction. That is less than 5 per cent. of the week's hours. Those who know anything of the printing trade do not need to be told that this 5 per cent. reduction does not anything like counterbalance the increased output per head which has taken place in the decade or so that has slipped away since the last reduction of hours. The speeding-up and the development of machinery in all departments have been astounding, and new processes are discovered almost daily.

SO VERY ORTHODOX!

So we are to have a Labour daily newspaper in London—in fact, and to be more exact, at the time of writing these words we have got it.

Fate, and kindly Fortune, spare the face of the present writer!—who is quite innocent of wilful falsification in this connection. But inasmuch as "In the midst of life we are in debt," mine will increase by the accretion of a two horse load of gratitude if the newcomer survives to prove me true, until these lines come before the eyes of my expectant multitude of intelligent and gentle readers. But even should Fate decide otherwise, at the time of writing we have got it.

Many things born into this world announce their arrival with sound, but few so understandably as the "Daily Herald," which cries on the day of its birth: "We have arrived."

Epoch-marking announcement! An astonished world raises its cap in reverence.

"If," the new-born pressling goes on, "we differ at all from the orthodox daily press, it will be in the fact that we shall give the correct position of affairs from day to day." (The italics are not mine.)

There is something very refreshing about the modesty of that "If." In these days of blatant self-assertion it does one good to meet with a little bashful diffidence. It has been charged against the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* (and, candour compels me to confess, not without grounds) that it somewhat aggressively flaunts the fact of its difference, in every respect possible to calligul printed matter, from the "orthodox daily press." But the "Daily Herald" aspires to no such distinction of character—which the unkind call eccentricity. Not, of course, that it is an "Herald" angel, fearing to tread where we fools rush in.

The only point of difference, if any, between the "Daily Herald" and the "orthodox daily press," we are forewarned, is in the matter of the presentment of "the correct position." We know well enough what the "orthodox daily press" is, and, since we are left in doubt as to whether the newcomer is to differ therefrom, we will go together, gentle reader, in search of the "correct position," in order to discover if the "Daily Herald" differs from the "orthodox daily press" even to the extent hinted at.

To begin at the beginning, we read, immediately under the first caption, the following:

What is this—the sound and rumour?
What is this that all men hear,
Like the sound in hollow valleys
When the storm is drawing near;
Like the rolling on of ocean
In the eventide of fear—
'Tis the people marching on.

And at the end of the address "To 'One and All'" thus poetically introduced, the "Herald" scribbles to this Olympian altitude:

On we march, then—we, the workers,
And the rumour that ye hear
Is the blended soul of battle
And deliverance drawing near,
For the hope of every creature
Is the banner that we bear:

50—48.

Shade of William Morris! To think that his verses should have been rescued from oblivion and enshrined in such a climax as that! "The banner that we bear: 50—48." How sublime! Who of us would not have made that deathless effort and have died? With that heroic banner: 50—48, the people are marching on indeed, and it is well within the truth to describe it as "the hope of every creature"—though of course there are creatures and creatures. And how happily is the "sound and rumour" of it likened to "the wind in hollow valleys" and the "rolling on of ocean"! The simile is perfect. The empty windiness (or is it windy emptiness?) is a real presence, and one can almost hear the "slop—slop—slop" of the waves upon a slimy beach. "Deliverance drawing near: 50—48." Ye gods, yes!

Between the patios of the beginning and the bathos—parlour, the swelling poem of the close, optimism runs riot. "If it is to be war," it is declared, "well—"

We don't want to fight
But, by jingo, if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the spunk,
And we'll get the money, too!"

And later we read: "Ask and ye shall receive." Ye have asked—to be rejected. Very well, then, in the name of Christ, KNOCK and it shall be opened unto you."

Here I would remind the reader again how like it is unto "the wind in hollow valleys" and "the rolling on of ocean." Slop—slop—slop.

But this is clear: If the exhortation quoted above "differs at all from the orthodox" advice of the orthodox Press and Pulpit provided for us by a considerate and disinterested master-class, it must be in the "capitalised" importance of the first word and the italicised emphasis of the fourth—for the rest is very orthodox.

So "KNOCK, in the name of Christ, and it shall be opened unto you" is the "correct position," on the showing of the "Daily Herald"; and the only difference between that paper and the "orthodox daily press," after all, is a matter of a few "caps" and italics. We shall see.

Before we leave the introductory address we may note that it is said: "There is a Labour Party in the House, and it holds supreme power." That, perhaps, is why, in this year of grace, those for whom the "Daily Herald" speaks have "got the spunk" to carry that glorious banner, the "hope of every creature," the "deliverance drawing near: 50—48."

In the 7th issue occurs this illuminating passage: "... belittle the effect of Trade Unionism upon character as you may, . . . the one great outstanding fact remains—it provides you [the masters] with men of sterling worth, disciplined with regard to certain rules of conduct, and ever ready, through their officials, to deal honestly and fairly with employers who are prepared to meet them on equal terms."

That is the true, respectable ring about it. It is as orthodox as the blooming Prayer Book. And on the same page we read: "The interests of both employer and employee are so entwined that to rend asunder those interests means disaster for the dissenting party." We can recognise here the old, old "Capital and Labour are brothers" axiom of the "orthodox daily press," so it seems that even the latter can sometimes present the "correct position"—unless (perish the thought!) the "Daily Herald" is so far orthodox as to give a position which is not correct.

They make orthodox hum in the "Daily Herald," as here followeth:

Imported "Neary Willie" (a machine minder) to layer on after the first week:—
"I eats well, I drinks well, I sleeps well, but when I sees a job of work coming along, I'm all of a tremble."

A very neat little take-off of the lazy blackleg (who has committed the amazing error of taking on a job) on the part of those who love work so much that, as they say in another burst of bourgeois merriment, they want to work 50 hours a week and the masters won't let them. Again:

Man entering printing office to answer an advertisement; he is dressed somewhat slouchily, with a chokey round his neck. Inside he is met by a man in the warehouse, when the following query and answer ensue:

Warehouseman: "Empties?"
Applicant: "Empties be ————." I'm not a ———— carman! I'm a machine minder!"

Note the subtle humour of this. The machine minder isn't a union man, hence he is dressed "a bit slouchy." Had he been a union man he would probably have supported the "dignity of sich" in a stove pipe hat and spats, and have been mistaken for one of the masters. But the disreputable, not to say "slouchy," blackleg—oh dear! the exuberating humour of the wag!—was mistaken for a carman—perhaps a trade union carman! And notice the indignation of the "imported" machine minder. Even he, in the depths of his degradation and the miserable and hopeless apathy of his benighted, non-union condition, was not so bereft of all sense of what is due to the ancient and honorable profession of the machine minder (I must mildly protest against the gross familiarity of our turn-of-phrase term, machine minder) but that he could find "language" to resent the insult. I hope, for the sake of the "Daily Herald's" aspiration to become a permanent "general Labour daily," that the carmen will also appreciate the point.

It may be true—and probably is—that if the "Daily Herald" differs at all from the orthodox daily press, it is in the matter of the position presented; or it may be that it does not differ even that much (as would appear from the statement that the strikers do not want to stand in the way of the masters making fortunes: they want to help them!) but, for my part, I prefer the good old orthodox. Because, after all, if I must have all the vices of orthodoxy, at least let me have its virtues too.

Besides, in the "orthodox daily press" there is not quite so much of the "wind in hollow valleys" and rolling ocean's "slop—slop—slop." A. E. J.

THE QUEER SIDE.

UNDER a capitalist regime one is either exploiter or exploited; there is ever a gulf between the two sections of society, and that gulf widens as the system develops. The affairs of every-day life give the lie to those who, from ignorance or interest, promulgate the idea of the identity of interest between robber and robbed.

Before an audience of 10,000 sightseers and guarded by a band of 300 police, Lord Deceis has been married to Miss V. Gould, heiress of Mr. G. Gould. Lord Deceis is 45 years of age, his bride 18. . . . A cake costing £200 was imported for the purpose from Scotland. . . . The bride wore a dress of white satin embroidered with silver . . . and a rope of diamonds.

That the worst of slums may exist even in fashionable Folkestone was proved at an inquest on the body of an old woman of 72 named Mary Sellars. The evidence proved that she died under the most terrible conditions of suffering and neglect. In a small attic 8 ft. x 10 ft., which contained as furniture an iron bedstead, an old chair and a pail, said the coroner's officer, 'he found the deceased, in the midst of the squalor, lying naked save for the protection of a pair of trousers, an old skirt and a coat thrown over her.' The deceased had suffered from pleurisy and peritonitis, and had not had any food for hours before death.

The husband was a corporation labourer earning 18s. a week. The coroner censured him severely, and the jury returned a verdict that "Death was due to natural causes."

The above cuttings are from the same issue of *Reynold's Newspaper* (12.2.11). The first refers to a marriage of members of the capitalist class—people who have never performed a necessary function in the production of the wealth they waste. The latter records the death of one of the exploited—a member of the class that produce the wealth that looters such as Lord Deceis may roam the world in luxury and comfort, and that the daughters of millionaires may purchase titles.

Such is the evidence of the "identity of interest." Wealth produced by one class whose members starve, and owned by another class whose members squander.

"Death was due to natural causes." It is, of course, natural for a person to die under such conditions, but are the conditions natural? It was natural for a policeman to die after receiving a bullet in a vital part, but the twelve "good men and true" returned a different verdict. But then the policeman was a defender of private property, while the woman was only a worn-out toiler. More evidence of the "identity of interest."

A writer in the same paper says "Pauperism is the question of the hour. . . . The public mind is aroused to the importance of the subject and measures heroic are advocated in order to strike at the root of the evil." He also quotes Dr. Chalmers as having said "It is thus, then, by a sort of festering and spreading operation, the sphere of destitution is constantly widening in every parish where the benevolence of love

has been superseded by the benevolence of law." The following might be given as an example of the benevolence of law.

The *Evening Times*, reporting an interview with a Mr. Mumford, chairman of the Paddington Works Committee, quoted that gentleman as follows:

"These figures might be given as an approximate estimate of the numbers of willing to work 'out of works' in the building trade:

Painters	3,323
Plasterers	297
Bricklayers	847
Carpenters	597
Navvies	1,269
Labourers	5,254

"It is a simple proposition in the economy of labour to suggest that housewives get their houses in order early this season in order to give work to the painter and others, and to save the extra money they will have to pay when the men are in demand for the Craton week."

The usual form of "benevolence." Get the work done now, primarily in the interest of the poor unemployed workman, but incidentally—quite incidentally of course—to save money. That means that the same amount of work will be spread over a longer period at a reduced cost. It means that, in the long run, less wages will be paid. That appears to me to be a good method of increasing poverty—but then, of course, the more poverty there is the greater scope for the "benevolence of love," for this particular sentiment, like appetite, "grows by what it feeds on."

The other brand of benevolence can be witnessed in the spectacle of the kind Liberal Government endeavouring to persuade the aged pauper to leave the workhouse and starve outside on five bob a week. According to a writer in the *London Quarterly Review*, the cost of London indoor paupers, including all charges, amounts to £24 15s. 11½d. per head per annum. The benevolence of the law offers them £13, and that fierce democrat, Lloyd George, swells his manly buzz and talks about "sweeping poverty from every hearth."

The fringe of the evil is not touched by such reform, much less does it "strike at the root." The cause, as Lloyd George admits, "lies deep down in the social system," where also that antagonism of interest finds its root—in the ownership by a class of the means of life. It is indeed questionable whether George & Co. could do anything if they desired to, as all things work to the interest of those who own.

A contributor to the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* (Jan., 1911) says that the introduction of State maintenance means that the husband and wife less for housekeeping because the children are now provided for by the benevolence of the State. True, and the unemployed worker will reduce the price of the said husband's labour-power by the amount saved in order to obtain a job, and so in a short space of time the average wage will suffer a depreciation equal to the diminution of the burden placed upon it.

Nor does it necessarily follow that money wages will drop. The cost of living of the working class is continually on the increase. The *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* (January, 1911) shows a steady increase in the price of necessities. The price of food in 1909 reached a point that has not been recorded since 1884. So, even did money wages remain static, the workers' condition would be worsened. The same official return for Feb., 1911 shows a fall in the total wages bill of £49 per week, while the number of unemployed has increased.

The interest of the ruling class is to rule and to keep a subject class as cheaply as possible and all such alterations will be toward that end.

The interest of the working class is not to be ruled, but to shake from their backs those social parasites who keep them poor and insult them by talking twaddle and endeavouring to prove what is obviously untrue, that these tinkering reforms and proposals are introduced "in the interests of the masses."

DAYLIGHT ROBBERY.

We are frequently told by our more outspoken enemies that the workers are not robbed, and there are members of the working class who actually believe it. But the following extract from a recent issue of the "Daily Telegraph" not only completely refutes the former, but may also enlighten the latter.

Under the heading "Census of Production" was given a list of industries concerned mainly with food, drink, and tobacco, and it was stated that the Board of Trade preliminary tables summarising the returns received in respect of those trades give the following results for twelve months:

Gross output from 13 divisions	£257,215,000
Net	£84,325,000
Persons employed	407,830

The "Daily Telegraph" commented thus upon the figures:

"The first column represents the gross output, that is the selling value or value of work done. The second shows the net sums realised after deducting the cost of the materials used. The figures denoting the net output express completely, and without duplication, the total amount by which the value of the products of the industries exceeded the value of the materials purchased from the outside, that is they represent the value added to the raw materials in the course of manufacture. This sum constitutes for any industry the fund from which wages, salaries, rents, royalties, rates, taxes, depreciation, advertisement and sales expenses, and all other similar charges, as well as profits, have to be defrayed."

Now rents, profits, etc., are not paid to the working class, who benefit only under the item wages. On the other hand, no value can be added to raw material except by labour. It follows therefore that while the workers produce the whole of the £84,325,000 worth of wealth which figures as the net output, they are robbed of all that is not included in the term wages.

Now let us do a little sum in simple division. The net output, £84,000,000, divided among the 407,830 persons employed, gives over £275 per annum to each. The difference between this sum and the average wage of the workers in those trades shows the extent of the robbery as far as those particular industries are concerned. And if the average rate of wages in these industries is that of the whole country, then these workers are robbed of over three-fourths of their produce.

THE QUESTION.

What is a Labour man? He who has sold His class and their Cause in the shambles of Gold.

For pelf, and a place in the council of Greed, Weaving snares for those dupes Want and Ignorance breed,

Where the offspring of Toil, from the cot to the grave,

Are consigned to the mart of the modern wage-slave.

Here "organised Labour" support and applaud The Thugs of all progress, Cant, Falsehood, and Fraud;

And, like autumn leaves borne on the blast of the storm,

They are whirled in the vortex of futile reform. Against the class currents they struggle in vain, Till they sink, where no trace of their efforts remain.

When Knowledge imparts to the people her power,

Slavish fear shall depart from their hearts in that hour;

And thrusting aside tyrant forms of the past, Revolution shall crown them with glory at last. The Labour pest, hurled from its seat of ill-fame, Shall be hailed a political relic of shame;

Then time in its fulness will give Freedom birth, When the Socialist era shall gladden the earth.

F. G. THOMPSON.

MR. DOOLEY ON STRIKES.

"I see the strike has been called off," said Mr. Hennessy. "Which was?" asked Mr. Dooley. "I can't keep track of them. Somebody is striking all the time. The Brotherhood of Molasses Candy Pullers strikes, and the Amalgamated Union of Pickle Sorters quits in sympathy. The carpenter that has bin puttin' up a chicken coop for Hogan knocked off wurruk when he found Hogan was shavin' himself without a card from the Barbers' Union. Hogan fixed it with the walkin' dillygate iv th' barbers, and the carpenter quit wurruk because he found Hogan was wearin' a pair of non-union pants. Hogan went down town and had his pants unionised an' come home to find the carpenter had struck because Hogan's hens were layin' eggs without the union label. Hogan injoiced th' hens to join th' union. But wan iv them laid an egg two days in succession, and th' others struck."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Christ Myth," by Arthur Drews, Ph.D. T. Fisher Unwin, 7s. 6d., net. (Will be reviewed next month.)
"The Concentration of Capital a Marxian Fallacy," by W. Tcherkoff. Freedom Press, 127 Ossulton-st., N.W.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P. WRIGHT.—You are to be congratulated upon the alacrity with which you drop the religious issue. The point you try to uphold, however, is not a whit more defensible. It is not because production is carried on by a class that it is held to be social. Your "socialism" is therefore beside the point.

"In dealing with production the word 'social' does not embrace every unit capable of taking part in that production." You are evidently entangled in the coils of the absolute. All things are relative. The means of production in the middle ages were petty, individual, and practically self-sufficing. Today they are none of these things. Contrasted with the primitive tool the modern machine is a social instrument. The producer with his household is no longer self-sufficing. He depends on the simultaneous activity of millions. Even apart from the modern and essentially social factor of specialisation and the division of labour, the unit of production is now entirely dependent on the existence of huge and complex social organisations and forces, for production, regulation, communication, transport, and exchange. Both historically and economically considered, modern production has an obviously social character; so much so that it cries aloud for social ownership, and the assertion that it has not this nature to-day is as little worth serious attention as is the statement that the earth is flat.

S. HADDEN.—The term "general" meant all industries, and contraction can take place, for instance, by a larger amount of profit being converted into revenue.

SUPPRESSION!

News comes to hand as we go to Press that the Islington Borough Council have declared their sympathy with and fellow-feeling for, the bourgeois murderers of thirty thousand Parisian working-men, -women, and -children. They have suppressed the Commune Celebration Meeting which our Islington Branch were arranging for the 20th March, at the Caledonian Road Baths.

The Commemoration Meeting will be held on March 20th at 8 p.m. (doors open at 7.30) at the Myddleton Hall, Almedia Street, Upper Islington.

All Workers should come and listen to what your masters say you shall not hear. Nothing to pay.

THE AFFAIRS OF THE CRIMINAL.

THE Press has given no little attention to the Government's changes in the methods of handling released convicts. Has the Socialist anything to say on the matter? Yes. He, like the rest of the workers, is called upon to support the administration that thus deals with the suppression of "crime" and "criminals," and, since he would influence the workers in another direction, he must give reasons why he refuses to support that which, for him, is a detail of capitalist defence. The occasion, then, calls for some discussion of the new arrangements and, necessarily, as the Socialist view is quite distinct from, and in violent contrast with, every other view, a general statement of the nature of "crime" and "criminals."

To day men speak of actions as criminal which are commonly held to be very immoral—actions in violation of the law of the land, or of what is considered to be correct living. But in the narrow sense those are criminals whose actions bring them within the cognizance of the Law of the day, and render them liable to imprisonment or death.

It is useful to point out in the first place the important fact that there is nothing fixed or absolute in "crime." Actions that are "criminal" at one time or in one country, are not so at another time or in another country. In Borneo and New Guinea, to this day among the natives, man-eating is quite correct, while in most other lands it is criminal. To-day, in England, someone sticks a knife into a fellow human and gets hanged for it, while another pushes his knife, on the end of a Lee Enfield, into a man whom he never saw before, and is a "hero." Often in the past the usurer and he who "cornered" stuffs was hoist on the gallows or imprisoned, but now such a person has but to succeed to be acknowledged a smart fellow, worthy of every honour. One might continue indefinitely to multiply examples showing the changes in men's attitude towards certain conduct, but it is more interesting to enquire why these changes take place.

Take our examples. Those who have studied savage life tell us that behind custom and ritual cannibalism has its roots in famine—in human necessity. And men "make virtue of necessity." With peoples in a higher stage of development, the necessity has passed away, and with that the virtue. Here "order" of a different kind is required; in luxury must proceed with a minimum of waste and disturbance, and the stranger within the camp may be more useful to the ruling interest alive than dead; human sympathy comes through in queer ways, for men who may starve one another may no longer eat one another.

Like wise your fellow with the knife—he has become a general nuisance. The rich have other toys, and no longer have need of the bravo; there's no virtue in him, and he is suspended. The soldier, on the other hand, is a handy fellow. In orderly fashion he will proceed to wipe out the inconvenient Kaffir or the troublesome workman. The more he kills the finer fellow he is.

Clearly here the change of attitude is due to the change of interests—interests, of course, of men in a position to enforce their desires—ruling interests. Such are only the common interest or that of the great majority, while society is in its primitive stages. But since classes evolved, men have been branded as criminal and punished for actions that conflict with the class-interest dominant at the moment.

Unlike the Christian and capitalist hack, the Socialist may not approach this question through the mysteries of God given conscience, and the assumed absolute "right" and "wrong," but must view it from the basis of human experience. He perceives that crime is a question of circumstances, pre eminent among which is class-interest. Class interest decides that the satisfaction of men's hunger by taking and eating bread is in certain circumstances criminal. The principle of property—the basis of class rule—may not be violated with impunity. The punishment for man-slaying in certain circumstances will be found to be ultimately on the same basis of class-interest, just as sanitation was undertaken when the gay clothing made in fever-infested slums was found to kill aristocrats.

Criminality, then, depends upon circum-

stances, and your criminal is a victim of such. Let men but consider the criminal's case and ask how came he in such a position. They will find that such are made of very much the same flesh and blood as themselves, that while unmasked for inherited characteristics count for something, it is essentially the difference of circumstances, of child training, companionship, opportunity, and requirements, that accounts for the difference between the criminal and the man in the street.

Our opponents are fond of bragging of the "individual" who makes his mark and imposes his will upon the world, as though he were some Olympic deity. But the slightest examination of the individual's career will show that he is but a fly upon the wheel, and makes little difference. Rather than he imposing his will upon the world he will be found to derive that will in its specific form, from the world about him, the social organisation or system of which he is but an atom. That system to-day is one wherein the means of livelihood, of joyous and comfortable existence, are greedily monopolised by a small class—the ruling, capitalist class. The great bulk of mankind are kept poor and hungry and anxious and miserable, and as such are treated with contempt until, taking instruction from the masters, they come to hold one another in disdain. When some seek to satisfy their needs—seek to get out of their wretched position—in ways inconvenient to the ruling class, the latter, with its instrument the machinery of State to hand, lands them in gaol.

Latterly the ruling class has taken to improving its prison arrangements—all in the interest of the prisoners, of course. Some of the revelations of police persecution and "criminal" breeding under the "ticket-of-leave" system have made somewhat of a scandal, while the more up-to-date and cheeper prison "elevators" schemes of the Salvation Army and other bodies seem to offer a better way.

The latest scheme is to hand the supervision of released convicts over to a new organisation composed of the Salvation Army, the Church Army, and other bodies concerned to clear the streets of the human wreckage produced by capitalism.

Here is no real improvement on the old conditions, for these organisations can only do as in the past, namely, force the men to work for next to nothing and destroy outside firms, as in the notorious case of the firewood industry. It means that badly paid workers will be discharged and replaced by worse paid ones. Others will go to gaol instead of these—that is your reform.

The Socialist cannot stand for any such hollow sham, and must needs denounce it. He knows that while the criminal withholders of the people's bread are allowed to keep on the even tenor of their way, and millionaires are produced at one end of the social scale, gaols will be filled at the other. He knows that millions of sons and daughters of men shall rot and die in the brothels and gaols, secular and religious, and in laud of capitalism ere it shall be ended. Let Tories and Liberals and Labour men continue their shams and utilities. For us the cleansing touch of Revolution!

ISLINGTON BRANCH

Are holding the following lectures on Thurs, evenings at 8.15, at Co-operative Hall, 114, Seven Sisters Road (entrance in Thane Villas).

Feb. 2nd—"Socialism versus State and Militarism"	T. W. ALLEN
.. 9th—"Society and the Genius"	A. REGINALD
.. 16th—"The Economic Position of the Workers"	J. FITZGERALD
.. 23rd—"The Futility of the Reform Movement"	H. J. NEWMAN
.. 30th—"Socialism and the Religious Question"

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MARCH.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	7.30 H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald	G. Holmes	A. Barker
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 A. Anderson	F. J. Rourke	C. Ginger	A. Pearson
Finchbury Park	8.0 F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 F. Stearn	C. Parker	F. Dawkins	R. Fox
Islington, St. Thomas' rd.	7.30 C. Ginger	F. W. Stearn	T. W. Allen	R. Fox
Kennington Triangle	11.30 G. Holmes	J. Halls	H. Newman	H. Cooper
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	" F. Dawkins	A. W. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 R. Fox	H. Joy	F. Dawkins	C. Parker
Sandcroft-rd., Brixton	11.30 T. W. Allen	F. Leigh	H. Joy	J. Halls
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	7.30 G. Holmes	H. Cooper	H. Martin	H. Martin
Tooting Broadway	11.30 F. J. Rourke	C. Ginger	R. Fox	G. Holmes
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30 H. Joy	A. Barker	J. Halls	H. Joy
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	11.30 H. Newman	G. Holmes	F. Leigh	G. Holmes
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	8.0 J. Martin	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	F. Dawkins
	11.30 A. Barker	F. Dawkins	R. Fox	C. Ginger
	7.30 J. Halls	H. Martin	H. Cooper	H. Newman
	8.0 A. W. Pearson	R. Fox	F. J. Rourke	J. Kelly
		J. Kelly	F. Stearn	A. Anderson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m.
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BURNLEY.—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield-rd. Wimbledon. Branch meets Sat., 29 Thornsett-rd. at 8.0. Rooms open every evening.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sat. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
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WALTHAMSTOW.—H. Crump, Sec., 244, Forest-rd., Walthamstow. Branch meets at 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, every Monday at 8.30.
WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road, Watford. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at Labour Church, Durban-rd. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—Communications to Secretary, Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sat. at 7.30 at B. J. J. Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or to Head Office.

BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.

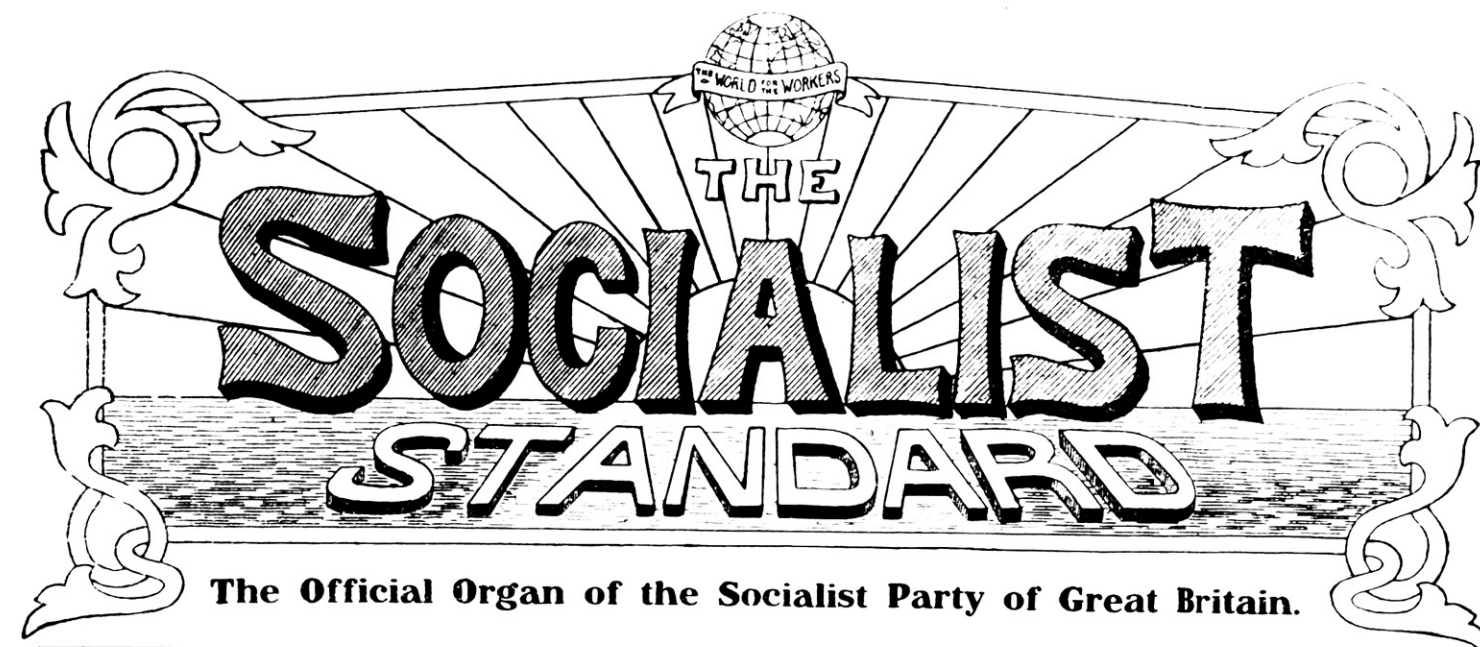
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QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION INVITED.

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LONDON, APRIL 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

FATALISM AND HISTORIC NECESSITY. A VINDICATION OF THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

The opponents of our method and theory—bourgeois scientists, and Syndicalist or Anarchist doctrinaires—are in accord in urging against Marxism the accusation which men like Guyot, of vulgar political economy, levelled of old against Socialism in general: they say we are guilty of an attempt upon the individual, of an attempt upon liberty.

It is not the capitalist system which sacrifices the liberty of the many to the greater liberty of a privileged few; it is we who do so. It is not the regime of capitalist property which makes the "free" will of the immense majority of the population obey the hard law of *labour for another*; it is Socialism!

From the Frenchman De Molinari to the Prussian Eugene Richter, from the Englishman Herbert Spencer to the Italian Syndicalist Arturo Labriola, from the extreme right of the political horizon to the extreme left of "Socialist" opportunism, we hear vituperation against "the Socialist tyranny," against "the future slavery," and, above all, against the "suppression of individual liberty"—of capitalists!

But among our opponents there are, it seems, men of good faith who sincerely imagine that Marxism replaces "liberty" with the "fatalism" of immutable economic laws.

Note, in the first place, that the same accusation of fatalism has been made against all modern philosophers who proclaim the subordination of so-called moral phenomena to natural law. When Hippolyte Taine, the author of "L'Intelligence," wrote that vice and virtue are as necessary products of certain conditions "as are vitriol and sugar," he was stupidly accused of recommending the replacing of the consumption of sugar by that of vitriol. The minds of many moderns are so degraded by centuries of theological and metaphysical education that they take plain statements of fact for approvals or condemnations. They resemble the capricious woman who broke her mirror because it revealed the decline of her beauty.

This accusation of fatalism is somewhat comprehensible, and even excusable, when applied to those theories which subordinate human history to the influence of climate or the geographical environment. The climate, within certain limits, is practically invariable. The sky of Greece and of France has varied little from the most remote times; but how many revolutions have occurred under the same sun!

Man Thomas Buckle has been reproached for his climatic fatalism; History, but hardly with justice, because the celebrated author of "The History of Civilisation" proved that as men developed they emancipated themselves from the influence of the geographical and climatic factors, and began to dominate nature.

But, I repeat, the geographical interpretation of history may well give rise to a fatalistic tendency. The semi-invariable nature of the geographical factor lends itself easily to this. One may say the same of all historic theories which subordinate history to external nature.

* Such is not the case with the Marxian theory. Nothing is more human or more varied than the mode of production. To produce, said Marx, in his "Capital," man needs a plan, a consciousness of the work to be done. The producer does not work like the ant, blindly, guided only by instinct. He knows what he is doing. He thinks his work. After Vico, Marx affirmed that history is made by man. Revolutions in the method of production which generate political and social revolutions, are due to great and small "inventions"—that is to say, to the products of human talents and genius.

Therefore Marx has not excluded man from history. He did not consider individuals as mannequins launching new "modes of production," like modes of another kind are "launched"—that of the harem skirt, for example.

That is not all. It is the "dogmatic," "sectarian," and "orthodox" Marxians who have insisted, against Bernstein and his more or less idealistic school, on the necessity of affirming and propagating the "final aim" of Socialism.

Marxists alone are Constant. It is they, and they alone, who have, in the great crisis of International Socialism (which is far from being terminated) remained unshakably faithful to the Socialist ideal—without stupidly repeating the word—whilst opportunists of every order, or even of disorder, have allowed themselves to drift at the mercy of the political events of the day, along with the blind and fatal forces of the system which knows only the inexorable struggle of appetites and interests.

Put the dialectical method is the enemy of all that is arbitrary. It does not place history in an aeroplane at the mercy of the winds or "His Majesty, Chance." The movement of history is nothing like the zig-zag of a drunken man. It is governed by necessities. Humanity is not free to renounce its physical and intellectual needs. As it is not suicidally disposed, it submits, in order to live, to the necessities of production. Production gives rise to and determines the social system. To a given social system there correspond definite ideas and conceptions: religion, morality, philosophy, science.

It requires all the interested blindness, all the brutal selfishness, of the capitalist to say to the worker: You are free to cease work. Absolute liberty is death.

A society is not transformed by the force of The Word, nor by strokes of will. It is necessary that all the forces of the past and present collaborate therein. Already Saint

Simon, the true precursor of Marx, had clearly shown that the elements of a new system accumulate during centuries, and prepare themselves within the framework of ancient systems. According to him, the capitalist class has taken seven or eight centuries to become the dominant force in society.

Evolution Includes Revolution. Isolated men, or small minorities, may, from time to time, indulge their gentle fancies. They may dream of transformations in the twinkling of an eye. In the name of the "right of abortion" they may apply the forceps of "direct action" to the body social in order to bring the new society into the world before its time. But society as a whole—an entire class—only gives itself such aims as are in the domain of the realisable and possible. And when the time comes it shrinks from no necessary means. Evolution does not exclude revolution, any more than the gradual transformation of the earth excludes cataclysms. Births occur in blood, and are associated with cries and painful rending. But only monsters come into the world before the normal hour.

A ship is launched. Does it deprive its captain of liberty to give him a nautical chart, prepared with scientific accuracy, and a compass? Would he be more free if he drifted at the will of the waves? The dialectic method, as used by Marx and Engels, provides us with chart and compass to determine the movement of history. It does not fetter us. It simply shows the way. In helping us toward the desired goal, it emancipates us from blind forces, from the fatality of chance. It is, therefore, an influence of freedom—not of slavery.

Primitive man is the slave of Nature. He is literally terrified by natural phenomena. He seeks by cruel human sacrifices to obtain a mitigation of his lot. Natural science emancipates him. From being the slave of Nature he becomes master. Modern society is still at the mercy of blind, semi-natural forces. We are, in relation to society, what primitive man was in relation to nature. It is necessary to conquer our liberty. We must emancipate ourselves from the blind social forces which bind and oppress us. Society must become *our thing*, as the great forces of nature have become. We must become masters of society, just as we have become, more or less, the masters of our natural environment.

Science is Liberty. But how have we conquered nature? By studying it, by learning its laws and making them serve our ends. It is the same with social laws. We shall only vanquish social oppression when we have discovered the laws of the working of society. Science is liberty. And the dialectical method, which powerfully aids toward that discovery toward the edification of

social science, is the tool of liberty, the instrument of precision of our emancipation.

The dialectical method is therefore quite the contrary of fatalism. In making us cognisant of historical necessities, it makes us able to effectively combat the fatalistic decree of capitalist ignorance that there always have been poor, and always will be!

No, replies the dialectical method. Capitalist poverty is an "historical category," which will disappear with the historical conditions which create and nourish it.

The dialectical method of Socialism is the method of science and of liberty.

[Ch. Rappoport in *Le Socialisme*. Translated by F. C. W.]

THE TERROR-TORN CAPITALIST.

As thinkers we Socialists are pitifully shallow. We don't seem to get to the root cause of things, like the panders of the capitalist Press.

Not, for instance, like Lady McLaren, who has recently illumined the World (both this terraqueous globe and the newspaper of that name) on the subject of race suicide. The decline of the birthrate, it would appear, is causing consternation in our Upper Circles. So her ladyship, instead of wasting time in absurd condemnation of an economic system which slaughters wholesale the children of the very poor, dives below the mere surface and makes the problem plain.

In a tense drama the comedian need not be excruciatingly funny to excite amusement; amid the tragedy of penal courts the magistrate calls forth laughter without being inordinately witty. But to arrest public attention on the peril of the race, writers in our prostitute Press must be beyond exception profound, persuasive, gushing. Lady Mac squares the circumference to a nice-T.

Admire her penetration. She maintains that the marked tendency of the birthrate to decline is due more to the unwillingness of husbands to support children than to the unwillingness of wives to become mothers. When you walk along our dirty proletarian streets and watch our ill-clad, half fed kids, meditate on the meanness of workingmen, who, although blessed with 24s. 9d. a week and acquiescent helpmates, refuse to bring into this happy land families of more than seven, nine, eleven, or thirteen potential wage-slaves.

But, behind the obdurate father, someone else is primarily to blame. Who? Unthinking Socialists, you would never guess. The modern politician!

Yes. "The child is no longer an asset; it is a financial burden," our titled sociologist discovers. Formerly "the man depended for comfort upon the extra earnings of his children, and both parents regarded sons and daughters as an insurance against starvation in their old age. Modern politicians have changed that condition of things." So now you know.

We Socialists pass nasty strictures upon old-age pensions, exposing their fraudulent pretence, insulting insufficiency, and rate saving reality. As usual, we only skim the surface, and it has been reserved for the McLaren genius to explore their true hideousness. Listen and perspire.

"The granting of Old Age Pensions is merciful. But the effect on population will be marked. As certainly as old age is sheltered from want without the aid of children, so certainly will families be smaller."

Shade of Malthus, painfully invoked from deserved oblivion! What a monstrous shape is taken by this demonic gift of five bob a week at the long last of life! In the affluent independence of a secured future, the workingman will override his wife's willingness, capitalism's claims, and nature's dictates. He will set at naught the laws of God and the exigencies of the labour-market. We see him, selfishly unproletaneous, march onward to his septuagenary, careless as to what becomes of the industrial reserve army, unmindful as to who will bear arms, do the dirty work, and create surplus-value. Rosebery's "end of all" is on the horizon. The cloud of the weekly dollar, albeit not so large as one's palm, portends a cataclysmal storm. A. HOSKINS.

CAPITALIST "HUMANITY."

"The Socialist is almost always, yet, in most cases, without conscious hypocrisy, a non-Socialist in his own private life. On all sides of his character, indeed, the average Socialist shows the absence of that feeling for humanity which his creed inculcates."—*Witness* (Ontario).

Ignoring the obvious contradiction that "the Socialist" is "nearly always a non-Socialist," the truth of the above depends upon the writer's interpretation of the words.

If the term Socialist is intended to mean one who endeavours to practice Socialism, then none can be other than non-Socialist—unless our critic would expect the aspirant to the name to start a co-operative commonwealth, as a hobby, after knocking off work.

Let me elucidate. Socialism is a name given to a system of society wherein the present anachronism: social production—private ownership, shall find no place; a system wherein classes with opposing interests shall give place to a community with a common interest.

A Socialist is one who recognises that private ownership must give place to social control in order that society shall progress; one who sees that the evils attendant upon mankind are due to the clashing interests of producer and owner, and who works for the society of harmonious material interests that must result from the abolition of class domination.

That is a Socialist, both public and private; and the pibald individual with Socialistic principles in spots is ruled out.

The "feeling for humanity which his [Socialist] creed inculcates" is, evidently, conspicuously absent in the pro-capitalist, for, be it noted, our Socialist in parts "shows its absence" on his non-Socialist side. Certainly such feelings are not rapidly generated in the lothouse of capitalism. It does not pay; but capitalism is never at a loss. If the real thing cannot be produced at a profit, nevertheless, quite an overdose of shoddy goods of this character has been dumped upon an unsuspecting proletariat in this enlightened country.

The humanity made so much of by the pro-capitalist does not appeal to the Socialist, who is more concerned with preventing the evils than sympathising with the unfortunate victims thereof.

What does capitalist humanity amount to? Human beings are maimed and crippled in the scramble for dividends. Commerce demands such sacrifice. Production for profit ignores humanity, and after each day of modern industry hundreds are left by the wayside, maimed and bleeding.

The humanitarian here steps in and calls upon his brothers to assist in the holy work of rescue. How awful it is for the "image of the Creator" to expire in the gutter! To tend the sick and to comfort the weary should be the work of the more fortunate ones.

To be sure. And, apart from the usefulness of such work, it may be very dangerous to allow the carcass to rot. Germs from the body may travel even into the homes of those more fortunate brethren. So, while supporting the system which maims and kills, they erect hospitals and poor-houses to receive the wreckage from the capitalist workshops.

Year by year the mass of that wreckage increases, and, of course, with the growth in the number of those who have fallen among thieves and got broken, the "good Samaritan" business expands also. To quote a writer in the *Daily Chronicle*, "they are awaiting the half starved children and consumptive sempstresses who will never get well until they have had enough to eat, and for the mothers who cannot feed their babes because they have no food for themselves."

Describing a visit to the "House of Horror" (the London Hospital) the same writer says:

"Throughout the length and breadth of a building covering a space of eight acres, men and women were busy with the great and ceaseless fight with death. Always the great city casts up its human wreckage, its broken bodies, its scum of disease. The supply is inexhaustible from the torture chamber of life. . . . I saw the vision of life's cruelty in a great city. I saw sharp knives in whirling machines of

great factories chopping off the fingers of working men and slicing off their limbs. I saw great ladders falling and smashing the bodies of men. I saw starvation weakening the fibre of the people of mean streets, and the microbes of disease grow fat in the filth. I saw vice eating up the bone and blood of men and breeding children of despair. For here around me in the London Hospital were the victims of all the seething cruelty of a great city in a civilised world."

The modern hospital resembles nothing so much as the repairing department of a large factory. The human machine is received broken and worn; the broken parts are patched and the worn parts rebuilt, and then it is returned to be rebroken and again repaired, until at last it is thrown on the industrial scrap-heap as utterly useless.

At present parsons, labour leaders, and others engaged in the dissemination of the "feeling for humanity" are busy denouncing the horrors of war and calling for "international arbitration of national quarrels," heedless of the fact that wars are necessary factors in the expansion of markets, and that standing armies are required to subdue a subject class.

Great though the loss of life by warfare is, it pales into insignificance beside the myriads needlessly slaughtered in factory and mine.

"Where is the Socialist's humanity?" "Where is he who practices Socialism in 'private life'?" "Where are your Socialist hospitals?" "What has Socialism done for the workers?" Such are the questions of the unthinking. Ask rather "What does that 'humanity' amount to which waits until the damage is done and then applies the sticking plaster; which calmly stands by while the limb is broken, and then hastens to supply a splint?"

Look for the humane instinct in a system which is based upon the robbery and murder of the useful in the interest of the useless. Enquire into and discover what capitalism has done for the toiler.

Dr. Newman, chief medical officer of the Board of Education, reports that of the 6 millions of children attending elementary schools, approximately 50 per cent. require medical treatment.

The chief registrar of births and deaths, in his report for 1909, states that 20 per cent. of the deaths in that year occurred in the workhouses, hospitals, lunatic asylums, and prisons.

In London 1 in 7 and in Glasgow 1 in 2 live in overcrowded conditions, while in both cities thousands of houses are unoccupied, and there are thousands upon thousands of acres of unused land in both England and Scotland.

We are told that in Great Britain "there are a million men unemployed; that one third of the population are on the verge of hunger."

The total wages paid are ever decreasing, it being estimated that the wages now paid to the workers of this country are less by 6 millions than they were 8 years ago, and further, that the number of paupers in the United Kingdom has increased by 118,000 since 1901.

T. S. Chouston, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., in a recent work, says: "In the report of a Royal Commission it is estimated that there are at least 350,000 persons representing the mentally helpless, dependent, and diseased element in the body politic. I should add another 50,000 and be well within the mark. Those have as first cousins an army of defectives of another kind."

It comes to this, that a large part of our 'submerged tenth' lacks brain-grit to cope with the conditions of modern life, especially in large cities."

These are a few of the good things capitalism has done for the workers. The mechanism to cope with this enormous poverty, disease, and crime, necessary for the maintenance and upkeep of present society, springs, we are told, from a "feeling for humanity." The Socialist wants none of it.

Just as every vice alleged against Socialism is found to actually exist to-day, so every pretended virtue of capitalist society shows its inherent rottenness.

No greater condemnation of the existing order can be given than the fact that it creates the necessity for these vast "humane" institutions to deal with the worst of its flotsam and jetsam, to provide, for decency sake, a screen for awful spectacle of its wreckage. TWEL.

CAPITALISM AND THE SHOPKEEPER.

THE Socialist teaching of the truth that capital is becoming concentrated in the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists has been recently attacked, from two points of view, by the "illuminati" of the I.L.P. and by the Anarchists.

In both cases is the wish father to the thought. Both parties have a case to bolster up, and both have diligently sought for "facts" to support their tenets.

The Joint-Stock Company and the small shopkeeper are stock illustrations supposed to prove the theory of the division of capital among an increasing number of happy and deserving recipients. The "theory of increasing misery" has its converse in the theory of a slow but sure evolution into terrestrial paradise. No one will be able to say of any particular period: here ends capitalism and Socialism has its birth; but the change will be gradual, peaceful, ethical—through the Joint Stock company and the small shopkeeper, and small reforms, *vide* Bernstein & Co. Let us look into the position of this small shopkeeper.

The English race have been reputed a nation of shopkeepers; the growth of multiple retail stores has suggested the remark that we are now a nation of managers. It is beyond dispute that the existence of thousands of company stores has limited the scope for individual success in the retail trade, and has driven the small retailer to accept the most casual and unremunerative portion of that trade. A huge business is carried on in multiple and chain shops, by mail-order businesses, departmental stores, and other massive concerns. They cause tradesmen great anxiety; all along the line the small shopkeeper is exploited; manufacturers are making attempts to deal direct with the consumer; department stores are trying to filch suburban trade; they are spoiling the retailer by well organised mail-trading systems.

If the man with little capital can exist to-day at all it is as a retailer; but even this small sphere of activity seems narrowing. Half a century ago little capital was required to become a retailer. In no branch of commerce is the personal factor, the knowledge of a customer's wants and whims of such value. The old tradesman was in personal contact with hundreds of his customers, and it was once thought that here was a barrier to Joint Stock Company success in the retail trade. However, slower than in manufacture, but as surely, the big capitalist is gaining ground.

In the North of England the shopkeeper has two competitors—the multiple stores and the co-operative societies. These obtain the cream of the cash trade, and leave to the shopkeeper a hazardous credit trade, plus what he can catch when the stores are closed—for he works fifteen hours a day. Certainly, as one walks along and sees hundreds of small shops, it would seem as if the small trader thrive in spite of powerful competitors. But even if we grant an increase in the number of small shops, it does not imply greater prosperity for their owners, nor that a certain number of proletarians have risen out of their class and become independent shopkeepers. In large towns hundreds of these "emporiums" are run by workingmen with the aim of adding a trifle to their petty wages, just as, as Kautsky has shown, in Belgium many of the belauded peasant proprietors work in contiguous mines and milk to help eke out a livelihood.

It is certainly the ideal of thousands of workingmen to "get out of the factory," as the phrase goes, and live a life free from the factory buzzers, managers, and foremen; alas, many are called but few chosen! The majority of them have not even a sporting chance of obtaining a livelihood from their shop-alone. Years ago such small speculators had better opportunities of becoming successful retail merchants, but to day they are snowed under by powerful enemies. The big fish are swallowing the little fish even in a branch of commerce where so much is in favour of the small fry. The Marxian law surely stands unassailable everywhere if it is applicable to retail trading. The following figures relative to the number of shops in Prussia are taken from Bernstein's "Evolutionary Socialism."

Businesses with 2 and fewer assistants	1885	1895	Increase per cent.
.. 3-5 assistants	111,509	467,656	13.6
.. 6-50 assistants	176,867	312,112	93.4
.. 51 or more	157,328	303,078	92.6
	25,619	62,056	142.2

Bernstein remarks: "It is not the large businesses that offer the most deadly opposition to the small ones; the latter provide it among themselves." If he can obtain comfort from such statistics his position is surely in dire straits.

The better placed shopkeepers who manage to obtain a "living" are, too, getting more in the clutches of the big capitalists. Most retail tobacconists are merely agents for the Imperial Tobacco Company; in the grocery line such firms as Lever Bros. are obtaining great power; and in every department of retail trade we meet with combination and association. Competition is as dead as piety. Arrangements are made amongst manufacturers to keep up prices, and amongst retailers to do likewise. Small dealers attempt, through their associations, to buy collectively. A few weeks ago a Manchester ironmongers' association actually discussed a proposal that they, as an association, commence a large store in the centre of the city, to enable them to fight the great firms with better prospect of success. These stores, it was stated, were stealing the most profitable portion of the trade; and individually they could not compete with the splendid displays and powerful organisation of the stores.

The transition from a nation of shopkeepers to a nation of managers is the transition from "small to big industry," analogous to the transition from handicraftsman to factory hand in the sphere of production. The journals which circulate amongst the various retailers are not blind to this change, however much the I.L.P. official gang may deny it. The "Boot and Shoe Trade Journal" is a letter judge of the havoc wrought by company shops amongst small retailers than is Ramsay MacDonald or the editor of the "Labour Leader." And when the present chairman of the I.L.P., Mr. W. C. Anderson, was peripatetic organiser for the Shop Assistants Union, his stock speech was a lament at the small opportunities possessed by modern shop assistants, of budding into independent shopkeepers.

The Socialist must wish for a quick awakening, both in the ranks of the shop assistants and those of the shopkeeper. The former is permanently proletarian, the latter liable to drop into the proletarian ranks at any moment. The assistant working in a shop, amongst thirty more of his class, that shop being but one of six hundred owned by his employers, is better able to appreciate the vast changes in the retail trade than are I.L.P. critics and Anarchist theorists with creeds to defend at any cost.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

JOTTINGS.

Mr. Will Thorne has introduced a Bill in the House for the Nationalisation of the Railways and Canals. What have the tripe shops done since?

In a leading article describing the history of the Socialist Movement in France, which appeared in the "Labour Leader" (24.2.11), the writer, Mr. J. F. Mills, states:

"To Blanc must be accorded the credit for theoretically bringing Socialism down from the empyrean to the solid earth. The conquest of political power by the masses and the democratic State as the great instrument of social transformation, and the right to work, . . . all these principles reveal Blanc's originality, and proclaim his right to be entitled 'The Father of Modern Social Democracy,' or if Marxists dispute his right to the word 'father,' then let us say 'grandfather.'"

As a Socialist, I am not in the least concerned about the principles of Louis Blanc, nor yet his right to the titles claimed for him by the writer quoted—except to suggest that "grandmother" would, perhaps, have been more appropriate. If by "originality" is meant Blanc's experiment of the national workshops, then it is about on a

par with the "originality" of the Labour Party in their schemes of social reform, and so on.

But to attribute to Blanc that which Marx really accomplished, is a piece of unblushing effrontery indeed. To Marx and Marx alone, is to be attributed the placing of Socialism on a scientific basis. He it was who discovered and established the great law of economic determinism, which may be briefly stated thus: Morals, laws, and political conditions grow out of and are determined by, economic conditions.

The application of this law spells revolution and the end of wage-slavery. But as the "Labour Leader's" policy is anti-revolutionary, it must expect the opposition of Socialists.

The same writer in a further article (10.3.11), in the midst of a tirade against Marxists (whom he refers to as Ishmaelites, Impossibilists, etc.), says: "Revolutionary Socialism (Marxism) is becoming merely a catchword. . . . And he remarks further upon the scanty following of Marx, which following, he alleges, is chiefly confined to the Continent. Yet on the front page of the same issue we find an advertisement of a biography of Marx (published by the people who issue the "Labour Leader") eulogising the him, and in which occurs this passage: "Karl Marx, founder of modern scientific Socialism, under whose banner ten million voters are enrolled." No wonder the workers are misled!

It might interest our modern Rip Van Winkle to know that not only is Marxism not dead or dying, but that it is, on the contrary, very much alive indeed—though, perhaps, it is not apparent to those suffering from that aggravated form of mental myopia prevalent in the I.L.P.

Speaking of the forced labour in the Congo, and the necessity for its abolition, Sir Edward Grey said (27.7.07): "If it is to come to an end it is essential that without delay the natives should be put in possession of large tracts of territory, which will enable them to take the initiative. Otherwise they will have no means of livelihood."

This must have preyed on the mind of Mr. W. H. Lever, for we learn from the Brussels correspondent of the "Standard" that "the Minister for the Colonies has just come to an agreement with Messrs. Lever Bros., Port Sunlight, for the formation of a limited company, with a capital of £1,000,000, for the planting of palm-oil trees, and the establishment of a factory for the manufacture of oil products in the Congo."

Is Mr. Lever going to do for the poor natives what he has done for the Sunlighters—socialise and Christianise business relations? Will he extend to them his noble scheme of co-partnership, with its five per cent. certificates and the "feeling of brotherhood and partnership"? Or (as I strongly suspect) is he going out there in order to still further augment his already bloated income? If the latter, then he will have an easy thing on, for the cruel treatment of the natives under the Belgian administration will have rendered them easy victims for the exploiting process upon which the success of the scheme will largely depend.

That Mr. Lever (like William the Little) fondly believes that he is endowed with a divine mission is evident from the following statement made by him in the first number of the "Anti-Socialist" (Feb. 1909):

"We cannot wisely disregard the very basis on which human nature was founded by a Divine Creator, *viz.*, self-interest. We can only direct self-interest, as its Creator intended, into beneficent and utilitarian channels, and check and control it from becoming a curse and a danger to society."

No one, I am sure, will accuse Mr. Lever of disregarding the "Divine" authority. It has been left to Mr. Lever and his kind to "check and control" it from permeating the brains of the workers. When it *does* do so, and the workers begin to "check and control" for themselves, it will be a bad look out for the class to which Mr. Lever belongs.

Mr. J. C. Wedgwood M.P., has resigned his membership of the Fabian Society because his opinions are no longer in accord with the aims of the society. He has *not* joined the S.P.G.B.

FOR SALE.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom money orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,



SAT., APR. 1, 1911.

WHY WE OPPOSE THIS "PEACE MOVEMENT."

The hypocrisy of the English race is proverbial. At intervals they rise to such a height in this direction as to draw upon themselves the ridicule of the whole world—as when, drooling a sickening stream of sanctimony, they circumscribed the exploitation of the West Indian slaves, forbidding their masters to employ them more than eight hours a day, while children of tender years, of our own race, in our own country, toiled for sixteen hours a day in the mill-hells of the Midlands.

The recurring frenzy of nauseating pretence again sweeps over the land, and this time its infection spreads beyond our shores. They have caught it America; they inspire the bacillus in Germany; in Australia the complaint becomes epidemic. "Peace, sitting under her olive" is the subject of this amorous outbreak, and you might shout "mad dog!" in the streets and nobody would take any notice, because every eye is fixed on the beautiful form "sitting under her olive," and every lip is outraged her name.

Peace, forsooth! What has peace to do with you, workmen of the world? What horror has war that "peace" has not accustomed you to? "The rain of death!" Ah! go into the mine and you will see it. "The awful rending of strong men's bodies!" The shunter sees it every day. "The fearful cost of human life!" The "Thunderer" was built in "peace" at the cost of a thousand accidents, from keel-laying to launch. Every plate in her great hull would sweat blood of those who mined it and smelted it and forged it, were the day when "the sea shall give up its dead" to come upon us tomorrow. Every great girder that gives strength to her stupendous form, and every rivet that holds them together, have been drenched with the blood of workmen, at every stage of their winning and fashioning, before ever they come to crush and mangle workers' bodies in the shipbuilder's yard. And every gun which is to be put aboard her, and the engines and fittings and coal—all these are to be paid for with workers' life and limb; so that when she leaves port a complete thing, she may do so as an emblem of capitalist peace: for it is very unlikely that she will ever receive such libations of blood in battle as she has had poured over her on the stocks.

Peace! The snuffling humbug of the word on capitalist lips! At the very moment they are mouthing it most unctuously they are drafting police and military against the miners in South Wales, massing troops on the borders of Mexico, and raising an immense fund to fight the implement workers in Australia. And while the British Liberal Government are making the remote corners of the earth echo and re-echo with the empty nothing, "Peace!" they are voting the enormous sum of £75,000,000 for war—on

the principle that they'll have peace if they have to fight for it.

Strange, is it not, that in all this cry of "peace" but one incentive shows itself? "The burden of armaments. It is the treasure, not the blood, that causes the capitalist head to ache. No wonder—for treasure is the master's while the blood is the workers'. £75,000,000 in a year is a mighty drain, and the Government that is forced to exact it is in a precarious position. So they scream "peace" by way of a soft answer to turn away wrath—and also in the certain knowledge that the result will demonstrate that peace, even as the capitalist understands it, is possible only at the cost of crushing armaments—or national extinction. It is significant that no hope is held out of a "peace treaty" except with America—a country with whom all serious differences have already been composed, against whom, in addition, Britain would hurl her might in vain, and who could inflict damage, where they can inflict it, with impunity. They could starve us out by stopping their own and Canadian wheat at the granaries. It is admitted that on the day when the States and Canada want join hands the "mother country" has got to submit. On that day the treaty becomes in all eyes what from the first it must be in reality—waste paper. It is easy for two nations who cannot fight, to make a treaty that they won't.

But the case is different with, say Germany. No responsible person suggests a treaty with that country—yet it is Germany that has made a British Liberal Government increase its annual Naval Estimates £14,000,000 in five years. No, derision waits the Minister who dares suggest such a treaty, for the farce would be too apparent. Just as a treaty with America brings peace no nearer because the two could not fight, treaty or no treaty, so a treaty with Germany would bring peace no nearer because, in the face of conflicting interests (without which they would not fight in any event), the treaty would not be worth the cost of its inscription. The humbug, therefore, of the cry of "Peace" and "Disarmament," is apparent.

There comes a time, of course, when it becomes cheaper to submit to a foreign rival than to arm against him. What course our ruling class will take when the cost of "keeping up the two-power standard" is dearer than exploiting native workers under foreign rule is foreshadowed by the course of the French master class at the time of the commune. Their patriotism will quickly enough then take the form of reduced armaments—the tacit confession that they would sooner "wear the yoke" in humility than seriously suffer in pocket.

Meanwhile the Liberals, in their desire to cover themselves, have been loyally supported by the Labour Party. These have shouted "peace" with the best of them, and they lose no opportunity of implying that it is only the "burden of armaments" which prevents the Liberals "sweeping poverty from every hearth." They thus kill a number of birds with one stone. First the Liberals are absolved directly it is discovered that their efforts for general disarmament are without avail; secondly the Labour Members put themselves right with all those of their constituents who are, or who think they are, groaning under the burden of armaments, and thirdly they throw dust in the eyes of the rank and file of the Labour Party and Trade Unionists on whose backs they have climbed to place—and pelf.

Of course, a show of consistency had to be made in the House. The I.L.P. had organised 250 meetings on the question of armaments, so something was expected. And something happened.

Exactly one half of the Labour Members in Parliament came up to scratch to save the face of their party by voting against the Liberals' immense Naval Estimates. The other half (save two who voted for them!) stood out of it oblige the Liberals!

Keir Hardie says the party were bribed, the Osborne Bill being the price of their defection, and he should know. But we wonder how many would have opposed the Estimates had they been really in danger. How many would dare have gone back to their Liberal constituencies with the confession on their lips that they had helped to defeat a Liberal Government? Not many, we venture to guess.

DID JESUS EVER LIVE?

[THE CHRIST MYTH, by Arthur Drews, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy at Karlsruhe. Translated from the third revised German edition by C. Dehile Burns, M.A. 301 pp., 7s. 6d., net. F. Fisher Unwin, London and Leipzig.]

To the Socialist the question whether there existed an historical Jesus of the Gospels is hardly a burning question. Whether the Christ legends had an historical nucleus or not does not affect the antagonism between religion, as such, and scientific knowledge. There is nothing inherently improbable in the collection of ancient myths round an historical personage and the attribution to him of the magic commonly believed in at the time. The Socialist, however, unlike the average professor, does not consider the work concluded when a belief has been traced to a myth! The myth clamours just as loudly for explanation.

Considerable work has been done, particularly on the Continent, in the direction of tracing ancient legends to their material basis, and showing their connection with definite phases of social life; but immensely more remains. The present book does not greatly increase our knowledge in this respect, and is to that extent unsatisfactory. A reference is, however, made to a rite which exists in the Vedic Agni cult, and which, according to the author, reaches back into the very origins of all human civilisation, and preserves the memory of the discovery of fire in the midst of the "horrors of the Stone Age." And the author gets near to a recognition of the social basis of early Christianity in the following passage:

"Christianity is a syncretic religion. It belongs to those multiform religious movements which at the commencement of our era were struggling with one another for the mastery. Setting out from the Apocalyptic idea and the expectation of the Messiah among the Jewish sects, it was borne on the tide of a mighty social agitation, which found its centre and its point of departure in the religious sects and Mystery communities. Its adherents conceived the Messiah not merely as the Saviour of souls, but as deliverer from slavery, from the lot of the poor and the oppressed, and as the bearer of a new justice."

But it is, perhaps, hardly fair to condemn Professor Drews' book on the score that it does not explain the beliefs and myths with which it deals, for, in view of the frantic attempts of professors of Protestant theology to base their religion on an "historic" Jesus, it is certainly useful to show how unsupported such a base is.

In spite of occasional emphasis, however, the negative, as might be expected, is far from being proved. The non-historicity of Christ remains in the realms of the "may have been," the "probable," and the "perhaps," the professor's scholarship notwithstanding. The innumerable comparisons with pre-Christian religions of all sorts nevertheless demonstrate, at least, the great antiquity of practically the whole of the legends and rites popularly connected with the name of Jesus.

In essence, the author's work in comparative religion (or, rather, in comparative mythology) simply carries the so-called Higher Criticism to its full conclusion, without seeking any sounder basis. He will have nothing to say to materialistic monism, and therefore never reaches bed rock; but his investigations within their idealistic limits have their value, and it may be useful to give Professor Drews' chief conclusions.

At the birth of Christianity men not only longed for a new structure of society, for peace, justice, and happiness on earth, but they trembled at the expectation of the early occurrence of world-wide catastrophe which would put a terrible end to all existence. And, says the professor:

"Seldom in the history of mankind has the need for religion been so strongly felt as in the last century before and the first century after Christ. But it was not from the old hereditary national religions that deliverance was expected. It was from the unrestrained commingling and unification of all existing religions, a religious syncretism, which was specially furthered by acquaintance with the strange, but on that account more attractive,

religions of the East. Already Rome had become a Pantheon of almost all religions in which one could believe."

Christ is derived from a cult god of the Jewish sects, and etymological variations of the name Jesus are shown to be but older words for the Messiah, the mediator, the god of healing, and the redeemer; each with distinct characteristics. The supposed place-name, Nazareth, is a geographical fiction; the word really meant a guardian or protector. Further, the infliction of death upon a gibbet or cross as a human sacrifice was, as is, indeed, generally known, an extremely ancient religious practice. The crucifixion story has a direct connection with weather gods and the Roman Saturnalia.

Professor Drews, in common with most modern critics, attributes systematic Christianity to Paul, who possibly existed. "It is evident," he says, "that in reality it was merely a new setting to the old conception of the representative self-sacrifice of God." Moreover: "No historical personality who should, so to say, have lived as an example of the God-man, was in any way necessary to produce that Pauline development of the religion of Jesus." Christ is, for Paul, only a comprehensive expression for the totality of men, which is therein represented as an individual personal being. In other words, according to our author, Paul did not actually conceive of an historical Jesus. "The Pauline religion was only one form of the many syncretising efforts to satisfy humanity's need of redemption by a fusion of religious conceptions derived from different sources." But the connection with ancient religions is even closer.

"The place of the bloody expiatory sacrifice of the believers in Attis, wherein they underwent 'baptism of blood' in their yearly March festival, and wherein they obtained the forgiveness of their sins and were 'born again' to a new life, was in Rome the Hill of the Vatican. In fact the very spot on which in Christian times the Church of St. Peter grew above the so-called grave of the Apostle. It was at bottom merely an alteration of the name, not of the matter, when the High Priest of Attis blended his rôle with that of the High Priest of Christ, and the Christ-cult spread itself from this new point far over the other parts of the Roman Empire."

Apart from Professor Drews' statements, however, we know that the Christian search for an historical Jesus is quite a modern thing, and is really a sign of the dissolution of Christianity, of the weakening of faith, and of the growing scientific habit.

It is the accompaniment, also, of personal individualist religion rather than of the communal faith of the original Church. As a god, Christ appeared to his worshippers to no more need historic support than did the Godhead. But to day faith has gone, and the attempt to find an historical nucleus for the Christ of the Gospels is the last despairing effort of what once was faith to justify itself by the light of reason.

Moreover, as Kalthoff says: "In default of any historical certainty the name of Jesus has become for Protestant theology an empty vessel into which that theology pours the contents of its own meditations."

It is truly all things to all men. But behind all its many forms it retains one constant care. It is true that Christians are being compelled to abandon the supernatural and to attempt to take refuge in an unfathomable Christ-man, but they only throw overboard their grosser superstitions in order to save the essential superstition of Idealism as a bulwark against scientific Materialism.

Professor Drews sees farther than the Protestants. He wishes to save religion by abandoning Christ altogether. "There must be," he says, "an idealistic monism in opposition to the naturalistic monism of Haeckel, which is prevalent even to-day. This monism must not exclude but include God's existence; and its present unfruitful negation of all religion must deepen into a positive and religiously valuable view of the world."

In practice an "idealistic monism" is not monism, but dualism; but that need not concern us here. At bottom the professor's attitude is typically bourgeois in its unctuous sophistry. Rather jettison all the gods there be than risk being overwhelmed by materialistic monism. At all costs keep the gaze of the masses fixed upon

the sky, the ideal world where they cannot see how they are robbed and oppressed; do not let them investigate the material world, where they would soon find the way to material salvation! Such is the useful rôle of all religion to every ruling class. And Professor Drews would help it make its last desperate stand, sans Christ, sans Bible, but not sans its essential pernicious superstition. Truly, one must say of religion in all its multifarious forms, what our French friends say of government: "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!"

F. C. W.

THE ATTEMPTED SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH IN ISLINGTON.

The attempt of the Islington Borough Council to suppress Socialist propaganda in their midst has proved ineffectual. Refused the hall of the Caledonian-road Baths, the Islington Branch of the Socialist Party commemorated the 40th anniversary of the Paris Commune on Monday, March 20, at Muddleton Hall, Almeida Street, N. The meeting was largely attended, and, unlike so many Tory and Liberal gatherings, was marked by equal enthusiasm and orderliness.

Islington ratepayers may with advantage be reminded of the circumstances that led to this futile effort on the part of their municipal representatives to dictate what subjects may or may not be discussed in the borough.

In March last year our Islington comrades applied for and were granted the use of the Caledonian-road Baths for Commune-commemoration purposes. A deputation of ratepayers thereupon waited upon the Council to protest against the letting of the hall and to urge that our contract should be illegally cancelled. Their spokesman melodramatically predicted that, as the result of our teaching, the streets of Islington would be "bathed in blood." By a majority of sixteen the Council rejected the deputation's appeal. Our meeting was held and was officially reported by the superintendent of the Baths as having been "conducted in a very quiet and orderly manner."

Moreover, despite bourgeois apprehensions, the streets of the "marrie" mediæval suburb did not run with blood. As a matter of fact, they did not even run with water, then or since; and, notwithstanding legitimate complaint, the filth which disfigured them in 1910 may be seen, with a year's accretion, in 1911. So wretched an environment has its natural reflex in the conduct of certain residents and their elected representatives. To what other opinion can one come, after realising these observations from the Council's discussion published in the *Islington Daily Gazette* of March 21, 1910 (italics ours):

"Ald. Crole-Rees held that they ought to cancel, rule or no rule, whatever the cost might be. It was a *suicide* to hold such a gathering in the baths."

Ald. Vorley thought technicalities ought not to stand in the way of cancelling. The meeting was not political—it was *revolutionary*, and something near to *treason*.

Mr. A. O. Clarke said *any damages that might be obtained from the Council would be remote and small*.

That is to say, break the law of contract as against Socialists and trust the courts to uphold such breach.

The *Islington Daily Gazette*, an avowedly anti-Socialist paper, expressed in unstinted terms, in its issue of March 23, 1910, its view of the matter. The editor wrote:

"We are a little surprised that the Islington Borough Council should have made itself look ridiculous in the eyes of the public by endeavouring to prevent a meeting."

The conduct of the meeting has proved how childish were the objections raised in the Council to the letting of the hall to the Socialist Party. . . . The uninitiated might have thought, after listening to the debate on Friday night at the Town Hall, that the Socialists of England were suddenly overcome with blood lust."

Yet, in defiance of the ridicule and censure thus heaped upon last year's attempt to suppress free speech, the Council did not hesitate to reject this year's application by our Islington comrades for the same meeting-place. The Baths and Wash-houses Committee wrote: "Having regard to the fact that a large number of rate-

payers objected to the meeting held last year at the Public Hall, and that a deputation waited upon the Council to protest against the meeting, the Committee do not feel justified in letting the hall again for the purpose named."

On this refusal becoming known, Mr. R. S. Bailey, an Islington ratepayer, published in the *Islington Daily Gazette* of March 14, 1911 an emphatic protest and a stinging rebuke of the Council's own disregard of the amenities of public life. He said:

"I attended the Commune meeting held at the Baths last year, and I say (and challenge contradiction) that it was the most orderly and best conducted meeting that has been held in Islington by any political party. Surely a deputation of a dozen bigoted ratepayers and the Borough Council are not going to place themselves on a pedestal and tell us what we shall hear and what we shall not hear."

I would advise our servants (and I hope the Council will not object to this description since they address themselves as such when appealing for our suffrage at elections) to conduct their meetings in as orderly a manner as the Socialist Party, then we shall not have so many bear-garden meetings, for which West Islington is notorious."

We ourselves were as little surprised at the absurd protest of the deputation as we are unmoved by the foolish action of the Council. The Paris Commune, alike in its mistakes and its achievements, is to us a guiding cresset. That alone would make it an object of hatred and fear to capitalism, the antagonism of whose puny champions, therefore, appears in our view not less natural than contemptible. How expect such dunces to know, or care for, the truth? No doubt, they willingly believe the *deliberate lie* that the Commune caused the streets of Paris to run with blood. But, in very fact, the 1871 massacres were the work of the cowardly French master class and their criminal hangers-on. When these found heart to return from flight, with the support of their German conquerors, they were maddened at the successful efforts of the proletariat to direct, as themselves had failed to do, the machinery of administration. So they glutted their vengeance in a popular butchery, which ceased only through fear of a pestilence from the growing heaps of slain.

As the British heirs of those brave dead, brutally sacrificed to class interests, we welcome from the myriads of Capital any earnest of the class struggle already long declared. It is enough that with them fraternise the Social-Democrats, the Labourites, and other spurious friends of the exploited and oppressed worker. For us it is battle now and all the time!

The truth is, those struggling tradesmen and professional snobs of Islington—parasites on parasites—obey blindly the preservative instincts engendered by our iniquitous system. They are slowly but surely being crushed between the upper and nether millstones of economic development, and their desperate hope to "get on" is only paralleled by their abject fear of "falling out." Sycophants to their "betters," bullies to their "inferiors," they seek a frantic sanctuary in property, sacrificing to Mammon their present peace, their children's future, and the whole welfare of their kind.

They hate the proletariat, because through the slightest mishap they may themselves be proletarianised. They oppress the toilers, because through their exploitation only can they hope to attain economic safety. And they, who scarcely know a night's rest free from business worry, warn the still more miserable wage-slave to beware of Socialism. They are whited sepulchres from which judgment and conscience have been snatched. Is it other than madness to bluster up the competitive system when even a capitalist organ like the *Daily News* (March 23, 1911), in dealing editorially with the appalling universal increase of suicide, admits that to-day "even to live with an independent income is more of a strain than to struggle for a living was a century ago."

Workers, we are out to destroy this man-made hell on earth. We can show you that the greatest of our social evils are directly traceable to the fundamental wrong of stealing from you the product of your work. We ask you to unite with us for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

A. HOSKINS.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

D. A. CONROY writes:

I have read your article entitled "Might is Right." To me it was a regular "stunner." I fail to see what good can come of such views. They seem to vitiate all the aims of Socialism. If what you say is correct, why trouble at all about your fellow wage-slaves? They are hopeless and helpless, and provoke only cynicism or pity. "Might is Right." Those on top are only there because they are mighty—on your own showing they have every right to rule. "Down with the meekling," so be it. It is only just and natural that the weakling and the meekling should go down and be kept down. You can't make a giant out of a jellyfish. Take the lowest types of physical and mental degenerates one meets in the streets by the million—is the new democracy to be evolved from such human wreckage? Is this dull-brained human herd fit to assimilate revolutionary ideas, much less act upon them? Or is the task of emancipation to be achieved by those amongst us who are of a fairly high order of intelligence? If so, it will be a very incomplete democracy. You would still have the rule of a class, the intellectual class.

Can you help me out of this dilemma? What has become of skill and cunning as factors in the struggle for survival and supremacy? You seem to have left them out of account.

My critic's letter has been handed to me to reply to. There is a suggestion of poetic justice about the editorial command. Having thrown friend Conroy into the frying-pan, it serves me right that I am ordered to get him out again. Haply I may not drop him into the fire.

The first question is: "What good can come of such views?" "Such views," as set forth in the article criticised, are that man has no other right to live than that based upon his ability to do so; that the only right he has to exist, therefore, is the "right of might." Is this correct or incorrect?

In the first place, the possibility of the view that man has a God-given right to live was admitted, and it was pointed out that such a view commits one, logically, to the conquest of the means of life by the whole of the people. The Socialist, however, who has no place for God in his philosophy, cannot admit any God-given right to live. If there is no intelligent force outside the human (or animal) race, then there can be no other source of man's right to live than man himself—and man can give himself no more than the right to live *if he can*. This is nothing but the right of might.

Does Mr. Conroy go so far with me? If he does not, he must be clinging to the hem of some metaphysical garment, for the external and the internal are the whole, and the external intelligence (if such exists) is God, and the internal, man.

Now if man gives himself the right to live *if he can*, he must also give himself the right to live *as well as he can*. Between such miserable, attenuated existence as is not worth living, and the full flush of riotous luxury which can only be possible to a very small number, there is no place where the logical man can put a mark and say: "Here ends the right of might." Even the plea that the right of might ends where exploitation begins—that men are justified in using their might to secure all that they produce, but not to obtain more, is shattered by the facts of history, for exploitation was in the direct path of human development. From the communism of primitive man, with its intimate dependence upon the capricious hand of Nature, to the fuller communism which it is yet our task to achieve, there was but one way to travel—through the robbery or exploitation of the wealth producers. Now, then, can it be maintained that the right of might ceases on the border of robbery?

"Those few on top," then, have all the justification they need. They are there, as my critic puts it, "because they are mighty." And, by the same token, they are there because the many underneath are weak.

So it becomes apparent "what good can come of such views." The weakness of the underlings lies primarily in their ignorance, hence it is quite in accordance with Socialist aims to teach them that there is no special Providence watching over them; that there is no Justice, even ever so blind, and with ever so rusty a sword, holding a balance between the weak and the strong; but that the only hope is strength, the only right—might.

If I showed that the strong few "have every right to rule," at least I pointed out that the right ceases with the power. "It is just and natural," says Mr. Conroy, "that the weakling and the meekling should go down, and be kept down." Why, then, should we not say so? It might lend the weakling strength, and the meekling combativeness; it might put vertebrae into the jellyfish, and make a giant of it.

And it is quite as "just and natural," when the weakling has lost his weakness, and the meekling his meekness, for them to rise and overthrow those who have kept them down—a fact my critic seems to overlook.

As to who are to achieve the emancipation of the working class, the answer is: the working class itself. Not "the lowest types of physical and mental degenerates," nor "those amongst us who are of a fairly high order of intelligence," but the working class. And Mr. Conroy's fear of being ruled by an intellectual class may be set at rest by this comforting assurance—there is no intellectual class.

Finally, it is difficult to understand why my critic distinguishes between the mighty and the wise. Might may proceed from wisdom, or from "skill and cunning"—which I am supposed to have forgotten.

And now, after the "finally," a "lastly." I desire to express my appreciation of the compliment so delicately conveyed in the words "those amongst us who are of a fairly high order of intelligence." I am quite sure Mr. Conroy was thinking of me first and (to return the compliment with that delicacy my friend's modesty demands) of himself second. A. E. J.

REPLY TO M. H. GEESON (TORONTO).

(1) The S.P.G.B., as its name implies, is the Socialist Party of this country, and does not claim to be "the Socialist Party of the world."

(2) We do not seek recruits among residents in Canada, but accept those temporarily abroad.

(3) The S.P.G.B. is not identical with the S.P. of Canada. We are not sufficiently informed to be in a position to discuss in detail the action of their members on local governing bodies, but remembering that at the interests of the workers are the same the world over, we do not hesitate to condemn such actions as the advocacy, by members of the S.P. of C., of the exclusion of our Asiatic fellow-workers from British Columbia.

(4) The function of Socialists elected to Parliament is to fight for Socialism. In doing so they will expose the fraudulence of measures introduced and use the Parliamentary platform in order to make a wider appeal to the working class.

Upon any measure brought forward the Socialist Member would express the democratically ascertained views of the Socialists he represents, always keeping to the fore the interests of the toilers. It must be understood, however, that we cannot bind the future representatives to a policy that, by its very purpose, must always deal with conditions arising at the time.—Ed. Com.

SOCIALISM & SLAVERY.

G. K. CHESTERTON affords a signal example of a man who, for lack of knowledge of basic principles, is ever hovering around the truth without hitting its centre; playing bob-apples with the Fruit of Knowledge, to the amusement of the unthinking and the grief of the wise. The warping of intellect, whether as a result of bad education, of trusted prejudice, or of servile surrender for a living, is one of the saddest of the many sad phenomena which attend capitalist society. Chatterton, in his last garret-sleep, symbol of society-strangled genius, is hardly a more pathetic figure than the literary monkey skipping to the tune of the Press barrow-organ.

In an article entitled "Slavery," in the *Daily News* (Feb. 25), G. K. says: "Nobody sees the largest danger of our age. It is simply that the rich are slowly enslaving the poor, partly by industrial despotism, partly by scientific benevolence, partly by State officialism." The curious jumble of truth and error contained in these few lines is typical of the whole article.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain persistently proclaims, not merely that the rich are slowly enslaving the poor, but that the very

fact of society being founded upon private ownership of the means of life involves wage-slavery for the dispossessed class, and that, therefore, that class is already enslaved. "Blood-drinkers," "devil-worshippers," S.P.C.C. reformers, railway directors, country magistrates bent on preserving game and their class privileges—all these figures distasteful to Mr. Chesterton, together with other vermin which feed fat on the body politic, are bred by capitalist society. They are as characteristic of the present regime as are cunning of priest, enuffe of philanthropist, and job-lust of Labour member.

The tilt at "scientific benevolence" and "State officialism" by one who carries the lance of *laissez faire*, is doomed to futility. Beelzebub will not cast out Beelzebub. "Scientific benevolence" and "State officialism" are but additional heads to the foul monster guarding the capitalist hell. Possibly a desire not to hurt

THE FEELINGS OF HIS EMPLOYERS

induced G.K. not to mention also "industrial benevolence," as typified by the enterprising family who exist to manufacture profits by the (benevolent) exploitation of their employes, and who turn out cocoa as a by-product.

The article in question refers to the "almost supernatural fact of the parent sometimes hating the child," of "such hatred of one's own flesh" being "mysterious and unfathomably shameful." The Socialist sees nothing "mysterious," still less "supernatural," in the fact that parents have sacrificed, and are sacrificing, their children to "Moloch, horrid king,"—whether Moloch be the reflex of religious mental perversion or of economic necessity. Does G.K. remember the fate of Don Juan's tutor? The shipwrecked crew that washed the portly pedant down with salt water were neither better nor worse than an average boatful of Fleet-street scribblers. In similar circumstances, with G.K.C. on board, there is little doubt the *Daily News* would be the first to be one contributor the less. Hunger is a primal passion, and for one Fantine who sacrifices her teeth, her hair, her all for her child, there are scores of Jewish mothers who, under stress of famine-born delirium at the siege of Jerusalem,

EAT THE CHILD

who, in normal circumstances fill the horizon of their whole being.

Capitalist society has consecrated child-selling. None may escape. The Divorce Court tells its own tale for the bestialised exploiting class. "Religious" scruples vanish when purdy Rothschild meets haughty Rosebery; aristocratic exclusiveness melts away before the bright beams of the Yankee dollar.

One would imagine that G.K.C. knew nothing of child-selling, literal or otherwise, that has been, and is, one of the corner-stones of capitalist society. Let him consult Engels' "Working Class in England in 1844"; let him consult anyone with a working knowledge of the "half-time question" in the manufacturing North today. Does G.K. know who were, and are, the chief opponents of the abolition of half time? Lacking information upon this point he may be enlightened by the Senior Labour Adviser, D. J. Shackleton, sturdy defender of child-labour and of the rights of parents. Engels wrote: "Even children from the workhouses were employed in multitudes, being rented out for a number of years. They were completely the slaves of their masters, by whom they were treated with the utmost recklessness and barbarity." G.K. agrees "with the Socialists about things like the nationalisation of railways." Let us state, here and now, for the benefit of new readers, that "nationalisation of railways," dear to the hearts of reformers, self-styled Socialists or otherwise, is

NOT ON THE PROGRAMME

of the Socialist Party. That programme is simple but all-embracing. Carried out, it obviates the necessity for "reform" to the capitalist class by abolishing that class, and abolishing "classes" altogether. "Reform" implies continuance of the present system of society; Revolution (the policy of the Socialist Party) implies the destruction of that society, based as it is upon the selling of working man, woman, and child—as so many units of labour-power—and the substitution of a system of society based upon the ownership of the means of life, and the effective control of those means of life by all.

That is the programme of the S.P.G.B. In a word—

SOCIALISM.

Nationalisation of Railways is simply one of the many devices which economic development will render necessary to the bolstering up of the State, and will enable the "economic superiors" of the porter (for whom G.K. affects concern) to "control him" still more effectively.

"I quarrel with Socialism because it quarrels with the passion of the peasant for his field." The most charitable thing to do with this extraordinary statement is to assume that G.K. has a certain reputation to sustain for "brilliance," for "paradox," and other qualities which are demanded of the unfortunate writer whose bread and butter depend upon his grinning through the literary horse-collar.

"The passion of the peasant for his field"!—The platonic affection of Giles for "his" insanitary cabin! The yearning love of the quill-driver for "his" top-soiled, clay-soddened back yard! The burning attachment of the one-roomed dweller for "his" (hire-purchased) little 'ome! The touching bond of sympathy between the muck-raker and his rake!—The only quarrel the Socialist has with his fellow-worker, carter or coalheaver, farm-slave or factory-slave, wielder of pen or of hoe, is on account of that fellow-worker's

AFFECTION FOR HIS CHAINS.

From those chains Socialism alone is able to deliver. And that that deliverance may not come too late to save G.K. from sealing for ever his undoubted ability to the interests of the class to whom he is now selling, peradventure even that the blinding light of reason may send the dazzled Saul to seek guidance from the Socialist Simon, to emerge a better, wiser Paul, is the wish of

A. REGINALD.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE.

OBJECTIONS to Socialism may be roughly grouped into two divisions—those which arise through ignorance, and those which are prompted by self-interest. The objections of the working man usually belong to the first category, either from lack of information or weakness in reasoning power. If he were prompted by self-interest in his efforts, he would reach for Socialism with both hands. It is the Socialists' task to show him that his true self-interest lies in bringing Socialism into being, at once. There is no excuse for delay. You, the working men and working women of the country, are living in poverty surrounded by wealth—the wealth you have made. You have to obtain permission to live. You are slaves. Why don't you revolt?

You will revolt, some day. Ah! some day. We want you to revolt, not some day, but now, at once. But stay. How are you going to do it? Are you going to quit work one summer afternoon and march through the West End smashing windows? or "demonstrate" in Trafalgar Square and throw bottles at the police? or erect barricades across Oxford Street and Piccadilly and await the arrival of the Maxim guns? Are you going to do any of these or similarly silly things? I hope not. Let me tell you the Socialist way.

First you must convince yourself that Socialism is supremely desirable. Then you must reason thusly: the great majority of my fellow men are workers like myself, similarly poor, equally slaves. Socialism must be equally desirable to them. I will convey the good tidings to them. If they hearken not the first time, I will tell them a second time, and yet a third.

And when there is a greater number of us all convinced that Socialism is the only thing worth while, we will ignore the shrieking of Tariff fools and Free Trade fatheads, the blandishments of Labour salary-hunters and "some-day Slowialists," and we will select from our midst good men and true, and send them into Parliament to take hold of the political machinery in our name. The elected members of the working class shall then say unto the capitalists in the Riviera or the South Pacific, on the pleasure yachts or visiting Venice: "Stay where you are, we have no use for you." And to the capitalists who tarry within the city gate: "Go and join the others or stay and work." The latter part of the sentence will do the trick. Exit the un-

desirables. And those who have worked for the enrichment of their masters up till that time, will work for the good of themselves. And those for whom the masters had no use in their day, they also shall contribute to the great store of wealth. And those who toiled in the old days foolishly, in the digging of holes to fill up again, in advertising, canvassing, and unprofitable toil generally, they also shall add their quota to the nation's store.

There is nothing so very unreasonable in all this. Perhaps its very simplicity tells against it. Briefly we may put it thus: The masters own your means of livelihood, they therefore own you. This ownership is safeguarded by the control of the political machinery of the country, which, in the last analysis, means that they possess a variety of big sticks to whack you into submission when you get obstreperous. But from historical causes they have to let you elect them into possession of the big sticks. Well, you should decline to do it. Take possession of them yourselves. Now comes an important point. With no one to keep in subjection, the need for big sticks vanishes, so that the State is no longer necessary, a central administrative body taking its place for the administration of affairs. Other details you can work out for yourselves.

As a working man, objections you can have none. Your opinions as a capitalist (if that be your social standing) are of no interest to Socialists. The latter are working men, looking at things from a working-class standpoint, and nothing else matters. The capitalists have always provided a splendid object lesson in raising objections on the one hand and ignoring them on the other. The history of the railway provides some striking examples of the types of people who oppose anything like progress, and also of the manner in which those who found it to their interest to introduce the new factor obtained their way in spite of opposition.

In "Francis' History of Railways" it is recorded that on presentation to Parliament of the Bill authorising the first Liverpool and Manchester railway, antagonistic petitions poured in from all classes. To quote the authority named: "Country gentlemen objected that the smoke would kill the birds as they passed over the locomotives; manufacturers cried out that the sparks from the funnel would set fire to their stock; ladies were certain that their horses would take fright and overturn them into ditches; horse-breeders lamented the extinction of the noble quadruped; while farmers were convinced that roots and hay would no longer be marketable commodities."

And again our old friend the "Quarterly Review" said in 1825: "The gross exaggeration of the powers of the locomotive steam engine may delude for a time but must end in the mortification of those concerned. It is certainly some consolation to those who are to be whirled at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles an hour by means of the high-pressure engine, to be told that they are in no danger of being sea sick, that they are not to be scalded to death or drowned by the bursting of the boiler, and that they need not mind being shot by the scattered fragments, or dashed to pieces by the flying off or breaking of a wheel. But with all these assurances we should as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off by one of Congreve's Rocket Rockets, as to trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine going at such a rate. We will back old Father Thames against the Woolwich Railway for any sum."

Sir Astley Cooper, the eminent surgeon, said: "Your scheme is preposterous in the extreme; it is of so extravagant a character as to be positively absurd."

And that is what people say of Socialism now. But observe, where they are not people totally uninformed, they are of those who are making a fat living out of capitalism. As such their opinion doesn't matter. But if you are not of their number, if you are sick of the bestial horror of capitalism and all its ways, if you are one of those who realise that a dog's life is not good enough for human beings, join with us in ending it. Behind you there stretches a long history of oppression and servitude; you are slaves in the midst of stupendous plenty at this present moment. The future, at least, is yours, if you take it. With nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win. "Erre."

DO YOU SEE WHAT CECIL K.C. SEES?

Among the many "topics of the moment" may well be included the question of co-partnership, or profit-sharing. The matter has been dealt with in these columns on several occasions, but the appearance of the following paragraph in the *Evening News* of 12.11.10 makes it opportune to again direct attention to the tricky purpose behind the specious wording of the phrase co-partnership.

The West London Parliament will meet to-night in the Council Chamber of Mylebone Hall, when Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., will move:

"That in the opinion of this House, the fair division of the profits of industry, as between capital and labour, is of supreme importance, and can only be secured by the adoption of co-partnership; that being the only effective alternative form of industrial organisation to Socialism."

I do not know the result of the debate, but anyway, that is unimportant. The discerning reader will draw quite a number of conclusions from the paragraph as it stands, but I would ask him more particularly to consider the last few words. The only alternative to Socialism is co-partnership, according to Lord Robert Cecil. Good! I hope the toilers can see it equally clearly.

Observe there is no hypocritical reference to Socialism destroying family life, religion, initiative, etc., to it being the "end of all," the creed of the chronic grumbler, or pille of that description. With refreshing candour the fact is specifically admitted that Socialism is a form of industrial organisation. Grant that and you have the unique spectacle of one of the Cecilis, with a pedigree as long as a poker, inferentially preaching Socialism.

Prove it? Set your thinking apparatus in motion. Look here, if co-partnership be the only alternative to Socialism, logically the bankruptcy of the former leaves you but one course. In that the noble lord concurs. Co-partnership has been proved in these columns to be a fraud. It has proved to be a failure wherever it has been inflicted upon the workers—notably quite recently in the shipbuilding industry, where it was installed with a flourish of drums and sounding of brasses, but only to demonstrate that the wealth producers would still obtain but a mere fraction of their product.

Out of capitalism nothing but its effect can be expected. The method of wealth making that we call capitalism depends and rests upon the fact that the class that makes all wealth gets only a small portion returned to it in the shape of wages. Any juggling with the proportions of the total product of labour, and calling the process the profit sharing or bonus system, does not alter the central and fundamental fact that the people who make it do not get it. They only receive a portion of it. And yet there are people who talk of a fair division of wealth between those who make it and those who don't. K.C.s may be able to see it, but workers cannot—there is a difference. WILFRED.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Weekly People" (New York).
 "New York Call" (New York).
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
 "The New World" (West Ham).
 "Freedom" (London).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Sham of Christian Socialism," by Sir Guildford Molesworth, K.C.L.E., Westminster: St. Stephens Press. 2d. (Will be reviewed next month.)

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR APRIL.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	7.30 H. Martin	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	J. Nightman
Edmonton, the Gren	7.30 R. Fox	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
Finsbury Park	8.0 A. Reginald	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 A. Hoskyns	C. Parker	F. J. Rourke	C. Ginge
Islington, St. Thomas' rd.	7.30 T. W. Allen	C. Ginge	F. Leigh	E. Fairbrother
Kennington Triangle	11.30 T. W. Allen	J. Nightman	R. Fox	G. Holmes
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 R. Fox	F. Dawkins	J. Nightman	F. J. Rourke
"	7.30 A. Anderson	J. Halls	J. Fitzgerald	F. Leigh
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 J. Halls	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns
Sandcroft-st., Kennington	7.30 G. Holmes	H. Martin	E. Fairbrother	G. Holmes
Stoke Newington, Edg. Rd. 1st Stn.	11.30 H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	J. Halls	J. Nightman
Tooting Broadway	7.30 F. J. Rourke	H. Joy	H. Cooper	J. Halls
"	7.30 E. Fairbrother	G. Holmes	H. Joy	R. Fox
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	R. Fox	A. Reginald	F. Dawkins
"	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Joy
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 H. Joy	F. J. Rourke	J. Nightman	A. Hoskyns
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	7.30 J. Nightman	H. Martin	H. Cooper	H. Cooper
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. Leigh	A. W. Pearson	C. Ginge	R. Fox
Woolwich, Beresford Sq.	7.30 F. J. Rourke	J. Kelly	G. Holmes	H. Martin
"	11.30 F. Dawkins	E. Fairbrother	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m.
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Wallam Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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BURNLEY.—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.
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NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4, Balfour rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sats. at 7.30 at Cobden House, Peachey-st.
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TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—H. Crump, Sec., 244, Forest-rd., Walthamstow. Branch meets at 5 Chyrlch Hill, Walthamstow, every Monday at 8.30.
WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at Labour Church, Durban-rd. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—Communications to Secretary. Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLD

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

That the Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

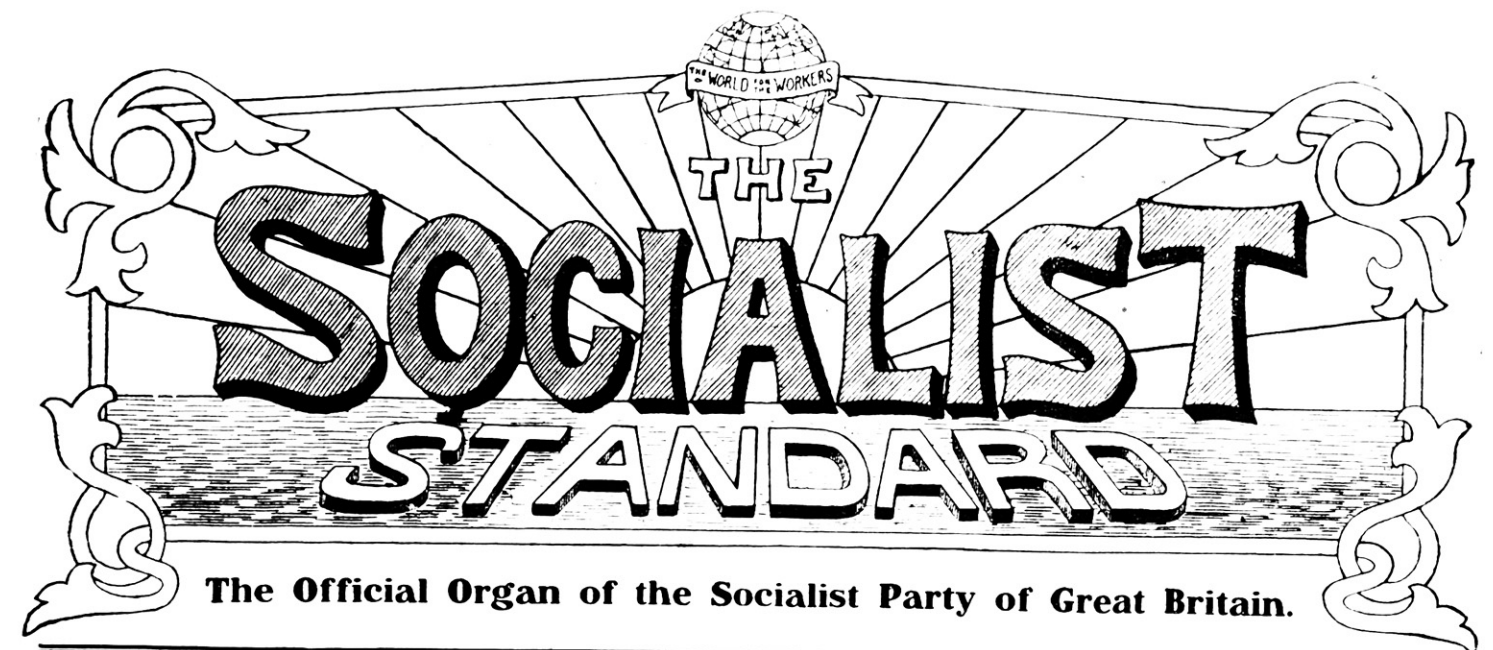
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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

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LONDON, MAY 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

"NOT A SMILE AMONGST THEM." A TERRIBLE RECORD OF THE DESECRATION OF CHILDHOOD.

CAPITALISM will be remembered as the age in which, with much pretence of Christian love and kindness, children were treated with the greatest cruelty. The day will come when men shall marvel that human beings

Capitalism can have so used the blue-eyed babe and tender child.

Children. The early days of the system furnish their quota of villainy and of torture. Gibbins, in his "Industrial History of England," tells us that "It was not until the wages of the workmen had been reduced to a starvation level that they consented to their children and their wives being employed in the mills. But the manufacturers wanted labour by some means or other, and they got it. They got it from the workhouses. They sent for parish apprentices from all parts of England, and pretended to apprentice them to the new employments just introduced. The mill-owners systematically communicated with the overseers of the poor, who arranged a day for the inspection of pauper children. Those chosen by the manufacturers were then conveyed by waggons or canal boats to their destination, and from that moment were doomed to slavery. Sometimes regular traffickers would take the place of the manufacturer, and transfer a number of children to a factory cellar, till they could hand them over to a mill-owner in want of hands, who would come and examine their height, strength, and bodily capacities, exactly as did the slave-dealers in the American markets. After that the children were simply at the mercy of their owners, nominally as apprentices, but in reality as mere slaves, who got no wages, and whom it was not worth while even to feed and to clothe properly, because they were so cheap and their places could so easily be supplied. It was often arranged by the parish authorities, in order to get rid of imbeciles, that one idiot should be taken by the mill owner with every twenty sane children. The fate of these unhappy idiots was even worse than that of the others. The secret of their final end has never been disclosed, but we can form some idea of their awful sufferings from the hardships of the other victims of capitalist greed and cruelty. Their treatment was most inhuman. The hours of their labour were only limited by exhaustion after many modes of torture had been unavailingly applied to force continued work. Children were often worked sixteen hours a day, by day and by night. Even Sunday was used as a convenient time to clean the machinery.

The Poor "The author of 'The History of the Factory Movement' writes: 'In stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, little fingers and little feet were kept in ceaseless action, forced into unnatural activity by blows from the heavy hands and

feet of the merciless over-looker, and the infliction of bodily pain by instruments of punishment invented by the sharpened ingenuity of insatiable selfishness. They were fed upon the coarsest and cheapest food, often with the same as that served out to the pigs of their master. They slept by turn and in relays, in filthy beds which were never cool; for one set of children were sent to sleep in them as soon as the others had gone off to their daily or nightly toil. There was often no discrimination of sexes; and disease, misery and vice grew as in a hot bed of contagion. Some of these miserable beings tried to run away. To prevent their doing so, those suspected of this tendency had irons riveted on their ankles with long links reaching up to the hips, and were compelled to work and sleep in these chains, young women and girls, as well as boys, suffering this brutal treatment. Many died and were buried secretly at night in some desolate spot, lest people should notice the number of the graves; and many committed suicide. The catalogue of cruelty and misery is too long to recite here; it may be read in the "Memoirs of Robert Blincoe," himself an apprentice, or in the pages of the Blue-books of the beginning of this century, in which even the methodical, dry official language is startled into life by the misery it has to relate. It is, perhaps, not well for me to say more about the subject, for one dares not trust oneself to try and

This Awful set down calmly all that might be told about this awful page in the history of industrial England."

So much for capitalism's past. Calmly and passionlessly as it is related it reveals the bloodstained character of the cotton lords' fortunes in particular, and perhaps of capital in general. But those who suppose that child-life has assumed any sacred character in Capitalism's eyes are sadly mistaken. At the present day the Press continually reminds us that children are still used as a means of securing profit, and treated accordingly.

A recent case which may be cited as an example is that in which a woman aged 74, who declared that she was "called to the work," and another, were punished for "wilfully neglecting a number of children in a manner likely to cause injury to health." The following is an extract from a capitalist contemporary's report of the case.

"The elder . . . carried on an institution called the . . . Home, where she received a number of children, and it is alleged, neglected them.

"Three medical witnesses were called, one stating that he had never seen a more miserable lot of children. The tips of their noses, their chins, their lips, and their hands and feet were blue with cold. There was not a smile amongst

them.

"Another doctor said it was one of the worst cases he had seen.

"Suffer little to come unto me" has been made a common precept, but its practical application to day becomes, for the most part, a fiendish mockery. The similar cases not a great while since reported

in Essex of gross, inhuman neglect towards children, dictated by the hunger for financial gain; the Parish notices of the intention to "emigrate" (the term "transport" has gone out of fashion, but the operation persists under other names) deserted children of all ages, and the atrocious treatment meted out to the defenceless "Barnadoes brats" by our God-fearing colonial cousins in Canada (the facts about which are now breaking through the interested conspiracy of silence) combine to make it clear that the traffic in children is as rampant as ever, and that private individuals and public institutions alike are as ready as ever to deliver them to untold misery for the sake of a handful of gold, or to get rid of their unwelcome charges. These cruel facts, intruding themselves upon one's notice with something like a shock, make one ask whether men and women will remain content to allow such suffering to continue. Of the facts there can be no mistake. Capitalist conditions of employment—and unemployment—"life on a pound a week," render it quite impossible for millions of infants to receive the nourishing food that medical opinion declares is essential to well-being and unrestricted physical and mental development. Here, then, is quite sufficient explanation of the debility and physical degeneracy that is so terribly and increasingly apparent; and, at the same time, a mortal indictment of these same capitalist conditions—sufficient reason for ending them, and for substituting in their place social conditions wherein the common interest is the chief object of human activity, and not the sordid, narrow interest of the few.

We Socialists boldly, confidently, advance our cause as the sole remedy for these and other terrible working class evils, as the only hope of both children and adults. Of course our opponents, jealous guardians of capitalist institutions that they are, reply: "but your proposals constitute a menace to happy English homes—to woman and the child."

Have these worthy critics of ours put their tongues in their cheeks or are they blind? Have they never seen those long lists of deserted children posted up outside the police-stations and workhouses?

Remedy. If they have not let them read them, and then ask themselves the very searching question whether it is Socialism that fills those lists of

children who nobody wants, or whether it is not rather men and economic conditions under capitalism.

The writer of this article was informed when in Canada, of the vile treatment of emigrated children, and he had excellent reason to believe the reports. But when he told eminently respectable English citizens of these things, he was curtly notified that the statements were not in accordance with fact, and threatened, if he had the temerity to repeat them, with the visitation of all the terrors of that law which is designed only to protect scoundrels whose nefarious actions will not stand the light of day—the law of libel.

However, your Socialist is not to be greatly deterred by such obstacles, and the curdling thought of the pitiful plight of the martyrs of the Canadian farm (the "Barnado brats"), of the victims of capitalist "homes" and "institutions," of the requirements of his own family, spur him on to the work of leveling capitalism to the ground—to the work of rearing the Socialist Commonwealth, wherein man, woman, and child may enjoy an assured comfort, health, and leisure, and live happily together.

H. B.

PERILS OF MODERN INDUSTRY.

In the February 1911 issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, under the heading of "More Miners Murdered," it was clearly shown how, year after year, members of the working class whose misfortune it is to be obliged to spend the greater portion of their lives in coal-mines, are deliberately sacrificed on the altar of Profit; are maimed and murdered, so that more profit may accrue to those employing them. That this condition of things does not appertain only to the miners, but extends to workers in practically every branch of industry, is apparent from a perusal of a "Report of the Departmental Committee on Accidents in Places under the Factory and Workshop Acts," recently published by order of the Home Office.

The Committee was appointed in 1908 by the then Home Secretary, who was compelled to take this step owing to the enormous yearly increase in the number of reported accidents in factories and workshops that had taken place. The total rose from 79,020 in 1900 to 100,609 in 1905, while between 1905 and 1907 there was a further striking increase, the figures being:

	Total.	Fatal.
1905	100,609	1,063
1906	111,904	1,116
1907	124,325	1,179

The conclusions arrived at by the Committee as to the causes of the increase appear to have been made as vague as possible. But we read in Section IV, "Causes Tending to Increase or Decrease Accident Risk":

"A considerable amount of evidence was given to show that work was now done at a greater speed and higher pressure than formerly." And further that "Much of the increase was attributed to the general raising of the standard of effort in all spheres of life." Evidence was given that in the textile trades machines run faster than formerly; in wool weaving, for example, looms working at 80 picks a minute were thought fast ten years ago, but now the new ones run at 100 picks a minute.

As regards engineering, the increased speed of cutting tools was referred to, and evidence was given showing that the speed of punching, shearing, bending, and squeezing machines had increased. In iron and steel works, and in tinplate works, the Committee were told that improved machinery had led to increased speed.

There was something of a diversity of opinion as regards Piece Work, but generally the evidence was that piece work, task work, and bonus systems of payment tended to cause undue hurry.

In "(c) Driving" by Employers we read: "Certain representatives of the workpeople asserted that in some cases undue pressure was exerted by employers, causing men to take risks they otherwise would not have taken," and

"that in weaving factories the practice of giving overlookers a bonus on the output, and of showing in the sheds the earnings of each weaver, tended to 'driving,' and was spoken of generally as increasing the accident risk."

With regard to this section, the Committee arrive at the conclusion that "The desire of the employers to get as good an output as possible is natural, but the evidence of undue pressure is slight." But then, surprisingly enough, they go on to say: "On the whole, we are of opinion that there is increased speed and pressure in a number of industries, and this is probably a cause operating to produce an appreciable increase in the accident risk." How in the world they reconcile these two opposing statements probably they alone can tell. The present writer frankly confesses his inability to do so.

Evidence was given showing the tendency to employ young persons and children on work which was formerly in the hands of experienced workmen. Mention is made in the report of lads being employed in the manipulation of circular saws and drilling and planing machines, and the danger of allowing lads under sixteen to put belts on machines is alluded to. Comment was also made by certain of the witnesses examined on the dangers due to the employment of boys in shipbuilding and in driving cranes, and the practice of employing boys to carry ladles full of molten metal in iron foundries was in some instances deprecated by those giving evidence. It is plainly shown that all round the circle of industry men are being increasingly superseded by the cheap labour of immature and inexperienced youngsters. More profit is, of course, to be made out of boy labour, and "the desire of the employers to get as good an output as possible is natural." If, in attaining this ideal, a few score or a few thousand lives and limbs are sacrificed, the employers, doubtless, are consoled by the knowledge that they are, after all, only working-class lives and limbs, and are doubly consoled by the thought that, however great the increased number of incapacitated workers may be, the prolificacy of the working class is still such as to provide more than sufficient labour-power for the maintenance of capitalism and increased profit to the masters.

In further sections of the report it is shown that neglect on the part of the employers to guard machinery, the further neglect to maintain in good order such guards as have been erected, the crowding of machinery too close together, defective and slippery floors, and inadequate lighting, all contribute, in a marked degree, toward the increase in the number of reported accidents.

When we come to Section XVI, "The Lifting and Carrying of Weights," we find a considerable amount of evidence as to injuries received in the lifting and carrying of heavy and bulky burdens and weights. For example, men employed in weaving factories have to carry beams weighing from 190 to 260 lbs. These sometimes have to be carried up and down flights of steps and along considerable distances, in some cases having to be lifted over the front of the loom owing to the crowded state of the machinery. The heavier beams are usually carried by two men, but it often happens that one man is obliged to do so. The workmen's witnesses from both the cotton and the woollen trades laid much stress on the fact that strains and ruptures from the lifting and carrying of these beams are not infrequent.

With regard to women-workers, the Committee were told that in weaving sheds women were liable to injury in three ways:

First, in moving the weights on the levers at the back of the looms. In the older looms the weaver may reach down in a space that is often very narrow, sometimes not more than three or four inches broad, and move weights of 56 lbs up or down the lever.

Secondly, in some factories they assist the overlooker or tacker in placing the beams in the looms.

Thirdly, they sometimes carry heavy pieces of cloth, weighing up to 200 lbs.

"The Burnley Certifying Surgeon informed us (i.e., the Committee) that he had known of cases of premature confinement through women lifting heavy weights in factories, and there appears to be a general impression that women often receive in this way injuries not apparent

at the time but causing trouble in later life."

The Chairman of the Cotton Trade Insurance Association furnished a table of accidents to female weavers "owing to lifting loom weights causing ruptures, sprained backs, and internal injuries."

Cases were cited of children of twelve who had been found carrying 18, 26, and 39 lbs.; girls of thirteen, 18 and 29 lbs. The Certifying Surgeon for Burnley said that in that town children carry up to 25 lbs., and young persons over 30 lbs.; he thought that the carrying of pieces of cloth up stairs by children was a cause of heart strain.

The attention of the Committee was also called to the statement by the Preston inspector that he had found children carrying heavy "cuts" of cloth on one shoulder, and, on enquiring of the medical superintendent of schools, "found that girls particularly were in many instances showing a tendency to distortion on one side."

Evidence was given further on that many accidents occur through cleaning machinery in motion. From a detailed analysis of the accidents occurring from this cause in cotton mills in the North Western Division during the years 1908 and 1909, it is seen that half the accidents occur to young persons, though they probably do not represent more than a fifth of the total employees. A "young person" is a person under 18 years of age and over 14, or over 13 if holding a prescribed certificate of proficiency or attendance at a Public Elementary School (think of the terrible irony of the word "proficiency"). "Children," presumably, are those workers who have not yet reached the mature age of 13. The legal provisions on the subject which are contained in Section 13 of the Factory Act, 1901, prohibit children from cleaning any part of machinery in motion. We find, however, on reading further (most of the evidence here being given in detail), that so vague and unsatisfactory is the framing of these factory laws that the employers can interpret them in whatever manner best suits their requirements, which, needless to say, is not usually the way that coincides with the health and safety of the unfortunate workers.

Further, as the machines have in nearly every factory to be cleaned by the workpeople in their own time, there is a natural tendency on the part of those doing the cleaning to rush the work, and accidents often occur through this.

This section, "XVII. Cleaning Machinery in Motion," proves that the illegal employment of children and young persons is winked at by the inspectors; that adults are compelled to rush the work of cleaning; that the overlookers take care that it is done in as short a time as possible; and that the employers are far too much concerned in turning out work as cheaply as possible (thus increasing their profits) to go to the expense of having cleaning done in such a way, and by such persons, as would militate against the possibility of accidents occurring to those thus employed.

The whole evidence adduced in the Report goes to show that when it is a question between the well-being and safety of the workers and the profits of the masters, it is not the profits of the masters that will be diminished. The Report, it is true, makes certain recommendations to the Home Office with regard to further factory legislation, but these recommendations are not worth the paper they are written on. The fallacy of depending upon the passing of factory acts to benefit the workers should be apparent to even the most prejudiced when it is remembered that, in spite of the numerous acts relating to industrial conditions that have been passed in recent years, every year the number of accidents is increasing enormously. There is but one way by which these accidents can be obviated, can in time be altogether eliminated, and that is by the working class as a whole owning and controlling for its own use and benefit the machinery of production, instead of leaving it, as now, in the hands of a class whose sole concern is to take more and more of the wealth produced by the workers. Then it would be possible for the workers to work under clean, healthy, and safe conditions; then the necessary work of the world could be made a pleasure instead of a toil and a curse.

It is for this that we of the Socialist Party are working. It is for this that we ask the co-operation and aid of our fellows. F. J. WEBB.

IS SOCIALISM INEVITABLE?

Pretoria, South Africa.

Sir,—In the January issue of the "S.S." it was stated that the Socialist system of society is both desirable and inevitable. With the first portion of this statement I am in total agreement, but a grave element of doubt exists as to the second. Whilst earnestly believing that the only means of attaining the desired state are an unwavering adherence to the principles of Socialism, I think there are forces at work which may yet prove sufficient to delay, if not to prevent, the realisation of our Socialist ideal.

Had the writer in question said that State capitalism is inevitable, one could, I think, produce reasons which would not be without foundation in fact. When one realises the colossal forces of reaction at work—the municipalisation of this and that, the delicately flavoured sops doled out, a Labour Bureau ship for this faithful servant and an Advisership to another—it seems to me that, although capital is becoming more centralised, and for all that the number of owners is growing less, yet they are making up in cuteness for any shortness in number. They are buying up the more intelligent of the fakers, and are making their lately dispossessed lesser capitalists an effective barrier between themselves and the proletariat. And as municipalisation goes along, we see fat jobs jobbed away to men who have had a university education. Out of this kind of thing may grow a system of society, State capitalism, which, I think, could be maintained indefinitely. For with the centralisation comes the knowledge that unless some compromise is made among themselves they themselves will be ousted. I hardly think the few remaining capitalists will be so obliging as to exterminate themselves, but they may adopt an old idea that worked so well for the Peruvians and Incas, where kings, princes, priests, and all who made up the exploiting machine were confined to a class, and the workers could never rise if they tried. And if the Spaniards and other Christian and enlightened gentlemen from Europe had not stepped in, this might, as far as one can see, have continued. But there will be no Spaniard or Portuguese to come in and upset the State of the State capitalists, who from their own ranks could raise the necessary army and police to keep order. The fear of disruption amongst that class reduced to a minimum, and even then policed as they could be, what change, even though they had a fitful gleam of light, would they have? And armies having become unnecessary since competition would be no more, how could an untrained mob hope to stand against armed and regulated forces?

Now if the propaganda as carried on by the S.P.G.B. fails soon enough to convince a sufficient number, the reactionists must win the day, and as the human being is the product of heredity and environment, the reactionists becoming more active and cunning, I don't imagine that the environment will be helpful to the advancement of S.P.G.B. ideas and principles.

And so, whilst I agree that the sum total of the forces at work on human destiny has moved in the direction of Socialism, I think that a very different thing to Socialism being inevitable.

Yours, RICHARD O. GROSS.

Mr. Gross's letter has been handed to me, as the writer of the statement called in question, for me to reply to.

In every argument something must be taken as a common starting-point, accepted by both disputants. Mr. Gross himself supplies this common standpoint, which is, that society will continue to develop. This condition is as necessary to the institution of the social system which haunts friend Gross's imagination, as it is to the realisation of Socialism.

From this common standpoint the writer of the letter proceeds to argue that a system of State capitalism may be developed, presumably because of the present-day tendency toward municipalisation, the concentration of capital, and the growth of "graft."

But as a matter of fact, State capitalism, in the sense in which the term is used to-day, is quite impossible as a system of society: it can never be anything else than a phase of the capitalist system. The social scheme which Mr.

Gross foreshadows is not State capitalism, nor is it any other form of capitalism. The very essence of capitalism is competition, whereas we are told that in this so-called State capitalism "competition would be no more."

What is to be the basis of such social order? It certainly cannot be private property, for while on the one hand no amount of "compromise" can prevent such a basis resulting in a competitive system, on the other hand only competition can save from absolute chaos a system based upon private property. Without competition no idea of value can exist. Without competition the word "price" has no meaning. Without competition capitalist exchange becomes impossible. And, finally, what is to take the place of competition as the regulator of production, so long as the means and instruments of production remain private property?

The basis of such a social scheme must of necessity be class property, with private ownership as perfectly excluded even as under Socialism. This, in itself, implies a revolution quite as far-reaching as that proposed by Socialists, and one the accomplishment of which presents insuperable difficulties.

The idea that capitalists would voluntarily surrender their private property to the class is as absurd as the idea that they would voluntarily surrender it to the community—and such surrender is the only form the "compromise amongst themselves" could take. Upon what basis of compensation, for instance, could the surrender be made? Would the man giving up £100,000 loom as large in the management of affairs and the appropriation of plunder as he who had the gift of £100,000,000? How, even, could the wealth be apportioned? There is no conceivable way in which vast and complicated wealth can be divided into definite and known relative amounts except by reducing it all to units of value. One can cut a loaf of bread in halves and balance one half against the other, and so arrive at equality. One can halve a portion of tea and say that each half is the value counterpart of the other. But in order to express the relative value of tea and bread, the value of tea and bread must be known.

But there are only two conceivable ways in which the value of articles can become known: it may declare itself through competition (as in fact it does under the present system), or it might, given sufficient human knowledge, be found by calculating the exact labour-time necessary to produce the different articles.

Obviously, in a social system based upon class ownership (as distinct from individual ownership within a class) the first source of knowledge of values would be closed, for competition would be as dead as the dearest thing there is—a labour "leader's" conscience. The second means, on the other hand, in a complex system of production, is entirely beyond the range of possibility.

Given the death of competition, then, we have the end of ascertainable comparative values, and money itself loses its significance—a point that should be worth the attention not only of the man obsessed with the fear of "State capitalism," but also of the "labour-cheque" "Socialist."

The only possible form of society which could shape itself out of any "compromise amongst themselves" (that is the capitalists) must be—if I may play tricks with common terms for a moment—a sort of Socialism or Communism among the ruling class, with the property owned by the class, the labour products appropriated by the class, and equality within the class.

Anything more fantastic could never be imagined than an attempt to arrange such a compromise. What a pandemonium would be created by the very effort to find a line of demarcation between those capitalists who were to expropriate and those capitalists who were to be expropriated and thrown down into the ranks of the slaves!

And even if such a revolution could be accomplished, what means would exist for its maintenance? It would have within it the elements of its own downfall. All other schemes of domination which have endured for any length of time have set up some tangible barrier between the classes. Usually it has been the personal possession of property. Ownership of property is itself an excellent means of class identification. Under capitalism it is the only one. In the particular instance given by Mr. Gross this barrier seems to have consisted in part of the

supposed divine nature of the ruling family, which was the powerful bond of Peruvian society.

But given the non-individual, class ownership of wealth, with a means of production too far advanced, and a control over natural forces too complete, to allow superstition to ascribe god-like attributes to human beings, there is no possible bond of sympathy among the ruling class, and no visible mark of distinction between the classes. Black may be separated from white; the property from the propertyless; and, through the smallness of number and restricted area, assisted by the completeness of the customs of gentile society, members of the gens may be kept distinct from the "strangers." A "divine" family, also, may be the foundation upon which a nobility and priesthood may become hardened into a clearly defined and solid and comparatively enduring exploiting class. But there are no means by which, in this system of class chattel-slavery which Mr. Gross so tremulously foreshadows, the identity of slave and freeman could be placed beyond dispute—a fatal weakness in a society each member of whose ruling class was interested in precipitating as many as possible of his own class into the class below.

Then, in such a society, an enormous armed force would be necessary to drive the slaves to work. Under our present competitive system it is the very complexity of things which enables the master class to maintain its position. The whole nature of production is hidden from the workers' view, and consequently their class position is sealed to them. Hence competition one against the other undermines them, and as they have not the knowledge, or unity, or organisation to seize the means of production, hunger takes the place of the whip in forcing them to toil.

But under the system which Mr. Gross threatens us with, the coercive force of competition does not exist. It cannot, for, goods being no longer produced for sale, rations must take the place of wages—a non competitive dole, that is to say, must be substituted for the competitive wage. All that is left then to keep down the slaves (now made clear-eyed and class conscious enough in their utter separation from every human aspiration) is bare physical force.

And who is to supply it? Mr. Gross thinks the "few remaining capitalists"; but the idea is ridiculous. They would have to depend then, as now, upon an army raised among the ranks of their slaves—which army, realising its power, would very quickly effect the extinction of their masters.

This is sufficient to show the impossibility of that system of slavery which Mr. Gross anticipates, being instituted, or of its being maintained if it were instituted. The claim that Socialism is inevitable is based on the theory that, given the continued development of society (which is about as certain a thing as we can imagine) some change in the social form must take place, and the only conceivable form which will survive intelligent criticism is a social system based upon common ownership of the means and instruments of production—that is Socialism. As further arguments for this view were advanced in the October and November issues of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, it is hardly necessary to repeat them at this juncture.

A. E. JACOMB.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Trade Unionism and the Class War." By G. A. Aldred. London: Bakuin Press. One Penny.

The Standard Bread for the mind is the SOCIALIST STANDARD. It contains 100 per cent of the whole working class political berry.

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The Socialist Standard,

MONDAY, MAY 1, 1911.

OUR MOTTO FOR MAY DAY.

The month of May, named from Maia, the Roman Goddess of Spring, is reminiscent of ancient games and festivals, of the growing warmth of the sun, of the lengthening day, the opening flowers, and the perennial re-birth of Nature. Even in the stony deserts in which we live, move, and have our being some little influence of May is felt. May is, indeed, symbolical of the spring-time of life. What wonder, then, that the one-time merry month should be looked upon as emblematic of a newer social phase, of the re-birth of Society, and of the germinating of the new in the breasts of workingmen?

Yet sadly enough must it be confessed that symbolism is impotent. It is but a pale reflex of things that matter. Demonstrations that were to stimulate the workers into interest in their class mission, that were to induce them to clamour for the end of slavery, turned directly into a vain clamour for eight hours' slavery. The promised revolt of the workers against exploitation became an ardent support of Liberal capitalism with its vague promises of reform. Such is ever the danger of mere enthusiasm, mere spasmodic emotion that is not based consciously on class interest, and is not recognised as such on every day equally with May Day.

As we have been told, we have reforms; but we ask, is the gulf between the classes narrower or wider than before? We have had years of Liberal-cum-Labour legislation, yet the chasm between the classes is wider than ever. We toil harder. Our real wages are less. Despite trade booms and growing wealth, there is more and wider-spread poverty now than when the Liberals went into office, as even a prominent Liberal statistician is moved to confess. This is "progress" under reform. It is the ashes into which the I.L.P. policy of advance to "Socialism" by the reform method turns in practice. There is no hope for the proletariat in the futile endeavour to build up Socialism by an accumulation of reforms within capitalism. Reform does (and must, in accordance with economic laws) entirely fail to keep pace with the worsening trend of capitalism; and pursuit of it still leaves the gulf to widen, and our emancipation to be achieved.

In the economic field, also, the hopelessness of the endeavour to bridge the class gulf and reduce exploitation is abundantly plain. Increases in wages confessedly fail to keep pace with the rise in prices of necessities due to the cheapened production of gold. Decreases in hours utterly fail to keep pace with the speeding-up of production and the more rapid exhaustion of the toiler. Consequently there is as little hope in industrial methods as there is in reform; they are at best but a means of covering an inevitable retreat.

We do not, however, counsel non-resistance. Far from it. That would be suicide. It would

place us even more completely at the mercy of our unscrupulous exploiters. But it must be recognised that even though we slacken the inevitable increase in exploitation under capitalism, we are, nevertheless, still losing ground, and that victory lies not that way.

"The first step in the revolution by the working class," said Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto," "is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." And unless this step be taken the working class will but wallow deeper into the Slough of Despond, despite their struggling. The revolutionary method alone can lead to victory. It alone can help us make the best of both present and future. It alone can result in the end of capitalism and the emancipation of those who produce. Once this is seen by the wage-earners their freedom is at hand. Once they become revolutionary in aim, and understand the magnitude of the issue at stake, then all else in their struggle assumes its true subordinate proportion.

The future of humanity depends upon the consummation of the revolution for Socialism. In this light most of the present trade-union and political activity of the workers is seen to be worse than useless, and must be ruthlessly opposed. And for the rest, such as is part of the necessary organisation and resistance of the working class must fall into line and receive consideration only in so far as it is necessary to the revolutionary end which is our guiding star.

No reform can weigh anything in the balance against Socialism, and no reform, no padding of the chains of slavery, can deserve the enthusiasm of the working class. Too often have they allowed red-herrings to lure them from the straight path of their class policy. The energy of the workers must not be frittered away, as it has so often been, in futile demonstrations for utterly hopeless reforms. Their enthusiasm and heroism must be reserved for occasions worthy of them, for the policy that will benefit their whole class, not for a day, but for all time.

One thing above all others must inspire them—the need for the conquest of the world by the working class.

On their backs society is built. By their intelligence is its production carried on. And by their labour alone is its wealth produced. To-day they are the only necessary class, and upon them must the ownership and control of social wealth devolve. Once the worker's victory is complete classes disappear, and all find health and joy in participating in the needful but immensely lightened labour of the Socialist commonwealth. Consequently, on the working class alone does the future of the whole human race depend. As it has been wisely said: militant, the workers' cause is identified with class; triumphant, with humanity.

Let the worker, therefore, ponder the magnitude of his class mission. He will become ashamed of the pettiness of his present ideals and the squalor of his aims. Let him realise how much depends on him in the present epoch of social change, and he will see that his aim can be no less than Socialism, and his inspiring motto no less than that of the Socialist Party—"The World for the Workers." This we offer as a motto for May Day—and, indeed, for every day until the victory of the working class is an accomplished fact.

JOTTINGS.

The following is an extract from a letter which appeared in the "Labour Leader" (7.1.11) from Sam Hague (I.L.P.):

"It is certainly high time that we Socialists began to discuss what we mean by Socialism. When I speak of Socialism I don't mean what the man in the street means, I mean what the I.L.P. means as stated in its Constitution, i.e., Nationalisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange. I quite realise that grades and differences would exist in such a system; that wages and salaries would operate; that there would be governed and governors, etc."

It has been pointed out in these columns again and again that the I.L.P. does not understand Socialism, and this admission by one of its

leading lights lends support to our contention. Is it necessary to reiterate that nationalisation is not Socialism? In fact the programme of the I.L.P. is such that the reforms advocated therein could be put into operation by any "progressive" government without jeopardising the position of the master class. The reason is that the programme does not touch the real position of the workers. The system outlined by the writer quoted could only operate under a capitalist regime.

A system of society based upon the common ownership and control of the means of life can only be established by a class-conscious proletariat. As the I.L.P., on its own showing, does not grasp the meaning of the class struggle, it follows that its conception of what constitutes Socialism is fundamentally wrong, and as such is therefore useless to the working class. On the other hand, the S.P.G.B., based as it is upon a clear conception of the scientific principles taught by Marx and Engels, recognises that the worker must bring about his own emancipation by class-conscious political action.

At the Annual meeting of the West Kent Federation of Free Churches held at Rochester at the beginning of March, Rev. F. B. Meyer spoke on the question of Socialism and Religion. "The Church of God," he said, "had got to register God's ideals on the Statute Book of our country and see they are carried out. Let the Socialist say what he liked, but Socialism, however much truth there might be in it, was not going to save the situation apart from the Church, which regenerated the soul."

What are the ideals of God? Simply the ideals of the Church—the ideals of man. In other words the Rev. F. B. Meyer means that he would force upon the people by legal enactment the observance of the superstitious creed that he and others believe. Such a proposition is evidence of its weakness. The very fact of its failure after nearly 2,000 years proves its worthlessness, and no intelligent person accepts its teaching to-day—except, of course, the class of people who use it as a means of chloroforming the working class. Religion and capitalism go hand in hand. The one is necessary to the other. Both have used all the means at their command to keep the workers in subjection. To the Socialist the history of the working class is the history of slavery, for which the Church has always stood. From all this there is but one means of escape—Socialism.

Socialism does not claim to regenerate the soul, but it will regenerate Humanity without regard to race or sex. Our guide is science, not superstition; our test-rod is Reason, not Religion.

In deference to the wishes of the Mid-Rhonda Free Church Council the Rhonda District Council recently decided to forbid boxing exhibitions taking place at the Old Hippodrome, Tonypandy. The Council also decided to close theatres, cinematograph shows, etc., on Sundays.

The Church Council in question did not, I understand, also ask that exhibitions of brutality and force on the part of the representatives of the master class be prohibited. Oh dear, no! Quite a different thing altogether. Boxing exhibitions, moving picture shows, and so on, were to them far more degrading and brutalising than the spectacle of armed bullies trampling men, women, and children under foot. The fact is, these "brimstone burners" hate any form of human enjoyment. They hate bands in the parks on Sundays; they hate the theatre; they hate roller skating; they hate dancing; they hate Socialism; in short, they hate anything that keeps the people away from church and hence out of their clutches. If they had their way there would be no form of Sunday enjoyment except prayer, dropping money into contribution boxes, listening to sermons, reading the cheerful and spicy histories of the Old Testament, and meditating on the elevating theme of the joys of heaven and the torments of hell!

Such is the Nonconformist Conscience.

TOM SALL.

THE FUTILITY OF OPPOSING SOCIALISM.

It has been pointed out in the columns of the Socialist Standard that the anti-Socialist organisations which in our Declaration of Principles are described as "avowedly capitalist" (as distinct from those designated "alleged labour"), always fail when they endeavour to make out a case against Socialism. Hence they confine themselves almost entirely to knocking down the various reform and palliative nostrums of pseudo-Socialist organisations. Only once or twice has an anti-Socialist organisation, forced to save appearances, debated with a representative of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. As a rule anti-Socialist parties fight shy of the S.P.G.B., but they are always prepared to actually provoke pseudo-Socialist parties like the S.D.P., the I.L.P., and the Fabian Society, to public debate. With regard to these parties, the anti-Socialists are able to demonstrate the utter absurdity of their so-called Socialist position, in so far as it stands for the mending of a system that "theoretically" they profess to exist only to end. But when these same champions of capitalism tackle Socialism, they can only cloud the issue with a tissue of deliberate lies and misrepresentation.

When the defender of capitalism meets a pseudo-Socialist in debate, the former's triumph is a foregone conclusion, as neither leaves the Utopian standpoint—the capitalist because he dare not and cannot tackle the scientific issue; the other because he is anxious to make his "Socialist" arguments appear

REASONABLE AND CONVINCING

to all comers. In face of the hopelessly futile pseudo-Socialist arguments that continually find expression against the professional defenders of capitalism, it cannot but dispel the confusion in the minds of many workers seeking enlightenment, if the reasons why it is futile to combat Socialism are once more simply expounded.

Friedrich Engels, in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (p. 44), says: "These two great discoveries, the materialist conception of history and the revelation of capitalist production through surplus-value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries the teachings of Socialism became a science." And the Socialist Party may well add the clauses of their Declaration of Principles laying down the futility of interests between the master class and the working class, and accentuating so strongly the

EXISTENCE OF THE CLASS WAR.

Taking any of the principal definitions of the word "science" given in the standard dictionaries ("Systemised knowledge"; "Truth ascertained"; "Knowledge arranged under general truths and principles") there is ample evidence to support the claim that Socialism, as a teaching, is a science.

According to the materialist conception of history, the production of the means of human subsistence (including their distribution and exchange) forms the basis of all social structures. From this standpoint all social changes and political revolutions are due to changes in the mode of production, and not to "superior ideas" or "a better conception of eternal truth and justice." It follows that a system of society

IS NOT ABOLISHED

until the economic conditions demand a change in the social order, and until they have produced the means of getting rid of the old system and of replacing it with one in keeping with the prevailing economic conditions. The revelation of the secret of capitalist production through surplus value has shown that the wealth producers in capitalist society are robbed of the greater portion of the wealth they produce by the owners of the means of production. And, as is stated in the Declaration of Principles of the S.P.G.B., there must be deadly hostility between exploited class and exploiting class until the former is abolished, and a common interest with regard to the ownership of the means of production and the labour products is established in society. Finally, as also is stated in the

Declaration, the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery must be

THE WORK OF THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF.

Now the anti-Socialist organisations and their spokesmen either deliberately ignore the scientific principles stated above, or, if for once they face a Socialist opponent, fail hopelessly to refute our contention that a Socialist system of society is necessary, and also possible as soon as a majority of the working class are prepared to establish it.

In the principal text-book used for the training of anti-Socialist speakers ("The Case Against Socialism," with introduction by A. J. Balfour. Published by the London Municipal Society), the "Socialist" organisations in this country are divided into "evolutionary" and "revolutionary." The Labour Party, I.L.P., Fabian Society, and Clarion Society are dubbed "evolutionary"; the S.D.P. "revolutionary"; and the S.P.G.B. is mentioned as the second of the "revolutionary" Socialist parties—and this in spite of the long programme of reforms and palliatives of the S.D.P. reprinted in the book.

The reason is not far to seek. Pages of that book are devoted to smashing up the reforms and palliatives, and the S.D.P. is pulverised, and it suits the anti-Socialists to link the S.P.G.B. with the S.D.P. and claim that in drubbing the last they

HAVE DRUBBED THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

An amusing protest is made in the book against the attempt of the evolutionary "Socialist" parties to prove that the anti-Socialists are opposed to reform, and that they are satisfied with the present system. In order to give the lie to this outrageous charge, a whole sheaf of reforms are given later in the book, which it is claimed the anti-Socialists are "determined to obtain for the workers."

The task of showing the necessity of the development of capitalism and its passing away; and the fact that the economic conditions are ripe for its being replaced by Socialism; and that the accomplishment of this change awaits only the growth of revolutionary class-consciousness among the workers, is by no means a difficult one. But, as will be seen, it is

FAR TOO DIFFICULT

for the anti-Socialist to challenge. Hence his continual fight against the reform position of the pseudo-Socialist—on the pretence of "knocking the bottom out of Socialism."

Let us, therefore, give the anti-Socialist Press and platform another chance of an open, straight fight against the "overwhelming enemy," Socialism. Let us again show why Socialism must of necessity be the next social system—unless society is to perish altogether.

Reviewing the various methods of wealth production that have succeeded one another in the different epochs of history, the necessity of social evolution and revolution is demonstrated. There is no gainsaying the fact that capitalism is the inevitable result of evolution and revolution that have proceeded from primitive communism in various forms, through chattel-slavery and feudalism (with serfdom) to the present method of production.

The primitive communist method of production is based on labour socially organised according to a simple plan or system, and necessitates the common ownership of the means of production and labour products. Only such portion of the labour products are distributed among the members of the community as are

REQUIRED FOR THEIR SUSTENANCE.

This method of production passes through several stages: the tribal stage (mainly supported by hunting, fishing, and cattle raising), the village community (with agriculture as the chief activity), and the patriarchal family stage (characterised by the family producing all its requirements).

Primitive communism gives way to chattel-slavery, which, of necessity, is based on the private ownership of the means of production. Under that system the chattel-slave is personally owned by, and can be bought and sold by, the slave-master, and produces the sustenance of his owner, and incidentally his own rough livelihood.

Feudalism, based upon serfdom, supersedes chattel-slavery. The serf is not a personal slave,

but is attached to the soil, with which alone he changes hands. He produces on the soil of his feudal lord the wealth on which the latter exists, and he is of necessity permitted to devote part of his time to producing his own sustenance.

Under feudalism, handicraft—the production of wealth by individual application, with tools and raw material individually owned—comes to its full development. Handicraft represents the purest form of simple commodity production (producing for exchange and not for the use of the producer), as under it the producer himself

OWNS THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

he uses, and hence owns his product.

The next form is capitalist production, with both agriculture and industry based upon wage-labour. The old conditions disappear altogether with the development of capitalism, and the ownership of the means of production passes into the hands of non-producers—the capitalists. At the same time the workers become property-less producers, compelled to sell their labour-power at a price determined by its cost of production and by supply and demand.

Marx has proved that the origin of capital (wealth used for the exploitation of the workers) can be traced to robbery with violence, in which process the boasted "thrift," "abstinence," and "directing ability" of the possessing class have been "conspicuous by their absence."

The contradiction between the mode of production and the method of appropriating the labour products becomes ever more glaring with the advance of the socialisation of labour. For on the one hand there are the capitalists—idle, non-producing, yet enormously consuming—on the other hand there are the workers—the only producers of wealth, yet poverty-stricken and wanting in material security, and becoming more degraded in proportion as the wealth taken from them increases.

And the causes of the rapid growth of wealth and poverty under capitalism are easily explained. The fertility of labour is

ENORMOUSLY INCREASED

by every new invention, every labour-saving implement, every improvement in the means of production. The result is simplicity itself. There is continually more wealth produced by an ever decreasing number of workers. The consuming capacity of the working class steadily declines and causes a gradual lowering of their standard of comfort in proportion to the ever increasing physical and mental strain of their work.

The present system works in every direction to the advantage of the exploiter and against the exploited—the producer. Under primitive communism, where the social products of labour are taken possession of and distributed by society, the share of each member increases with the growing productivity of labour; under handicraft, where the individual producer is able to dispose of his labour-product for his own benefit, any increased labour fertility either improves his standard of comfort or extends his leisure.

But under capitalism, where labour-power itself is a commodity, its value, like that of every other commodity, declines as the productivity of labour increases. Hence the more easily wealth is produced, the

SMALLER GROWS THE PROPORTIONATE SHARE

of the worker.

And this ever widening chasm of economic antagonism between exploiter and exploited must of necessity find a commensurate reflexion in the political struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. Only ignorant persons or professional perverters of truth can see, in the economic development, the need for solving the poverty problem of capitalism by a compromise (in the shape of economic and social concessions) between the workers and the shirkers, or by a return to the handicraft method of production.

Once the fact of the contradiction between the methods of production and of appropriation is understood, there seems only one solution possible, namely, the producers of wealth must also be enabled to own and control that wealth. And that is possible only when they own and control

THEIR MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

That common social ownership of the means of production is the only aim of the Socialist movement, as expressed by the Socialist Party of Great Britain—which organisation calls upon the workers to conquer political power for that

purpose and that purpose alone.

Let the anti-Socialist organisations consider exhaustively the foregoing facts and accept the challenge of the S.P.G.B. to show that the social and economic development of all history does not bear out the correctness of these allegations to the full. H. J. N.

BURNLEY BENEVOLENCE AND THE SEQUEL.

THERE have recently come before the notice of the present writer two very useful and suggestive documents with reference to the Feeding of Children by the Education Authorities.

They are useful as a further proof that the attitude of the Socialist Party of Great Britain with regard to this question is the only logical one, and are suggestive in giving some idea of the utter brutality and meanness of capitalism and its hirelings.

As is well known, the S.D.P. and the I.L.P., as well as that mixture of Machiavellism called the Labour Party, are advocates and supporters of the feeding of necessitous children by the local and national authorities. This much-vaunted "palliative" is now, to a certain extent, in force, and we can see what benefits have really accrued to the working class by its installation.

The first of the above-mentioned documents (beautifully typewritten and signed by the Clerk to the Education Committee himself) is from the Education Department of the County Borough of Burnley, and runs as follows:

"Dear Sir or Madam,
"EDUCATION (PROVISION OF MEALS)
ACT, 1906.

"I enclose account for meals supplied to your child.....under the above Act, and I shall be obliged if you will arrange to pay the same on or before the 31st March, 1911.

"The Act imposes upon the Authority in the first instance, the duty of making a charge to the parent of every child in respect of every meal supplied, but I am to say that if you can satisfy the Education Authority that during the period when the meals were supplied you were unable, by reason of circumstances other than your own default, to pay the amount charged, the Authority will take no further steps to enforce payment." (Italics mine.)

The second document is the account, which was enclosed with the letter, for 18 breakfasts and 7 dinners at 2d. each. These were supplied to a child in the Infants Department of one of the schools in Burnley during a period comprising in all 35 days in January and February this year.

We may imagine, in passing, the joy that must have filled the parents' hearts when they knew that, at any rate, their child was being scrumptiously regaled 7 dinner-times out of 35 on this "tuppenny" meal, to say nothing of the 18 breakfasts, all given, of course (does not the I.L.P. say so?) out of pure benevolence by the Educational Authority.

I understand that these demands for repayment have been sent out indiscriminately to parents. In some instances the amount demanded has been pounds, in other cases as little as 2d. It will be remembered that in and about Burnley a strike among the miners has recently ended, and that the hardships suffered during the strike by these affected have been almost unprecedented in their severity.

Now that the miners have returned to work (having been defeated at practically every point) they find themselves confronted with this demand. In their present position it is, of course, quite impossible to pay. Undoubtedly the Education Authority is aware of this, and it is very probable that the screw is being put on in this way to prevent any further outbreak for some time to come on the part of the late strikers.

In the copy of the circular given above I have emphasised the phrase "by reason of circumstances other than your own default." This appears to be a touch of Pecksniffian humour on

the part of the Education Authority, and is presumably intended to "rub in" the enormity of the offence of going out on strike against the friends and masters of the Committee. Far be it from me to deal too harshly with the gentlemen who sit upon this Committee. (A humane man does not trample upon worms.) I may say, however, that the method of reproof given by these masters of delicious irony are such as should really make that reproof almost acceptable to its recipients. I doubt, however, if the parents of the children will see the matter quite in this light. They may even begin to wonder whether this great "feeding" reform, so dear to the heart of the reform parties, works out quite so beneficially to the workers as was anticipated.

This Provision of Meals Act is used, and will continue to be used, to impoverish still further the already impoverished members of the working class. It is but another instrument available to the capitalist class, useful either to bend the workers to the will of the masters, or to break them if they attempt resistance. I ask the workers of Burnley (and of every other town) in all seriousness to consider why they—the producers of the world's wealth—should be compelled to send their children to a callous Education Committee to be fed. Why their children, brought into the world and reared at the cost of so much pain and so many hardships, should be used to grind the faces of the poor still deeper into the dust. Why, above all, there should be poor. These are pertinent questions, and when the workers, not only of Burnley, but of the world, set themselves seriously to answer them, the end of this hateful system of capitalism will be very close at hand, and the time will be near when Education Committees such as the above, who, under the guise of benevolence, subject both parents and children of the working class to these insults and indignities, will vanish for ever along with the other unclean things of capitalism. F. J. WEBB.

THE CALL OF THE ALMIGHTY— DOLLAR.

THE Rev. Dr. Jowett has left Birmingham and gone to New York.

He didn't want to, but a call from God and a big increase in salary pointed his saintly way.

He got only £1,000 a year in Birmingham, because that city makes cheap idols for expensive export. He gets £2,400 in New York, plus a motor-car and a Fifth-avenue residence rented at £1,600 yearly.

I wish I could get a call from God. My telephone number is 58, 13/4/11, Attenborough.

Before his departure, but after his feed with Georgie Rex (at which there was considerable wetting), the rev. gent. protested that the New York stipend ought not to be larger than the Birmingham "screw." Once in America, however, he found the cost of living so high that, in his opinion, Jesus himself would require £2,400 of Caesar's image, a £1,600 house on Fifth-avenue, and a motor-car.

This explanation aims a blow at the Tariff Reformers. All the Liberal papers therefore have given it prominence.

Dr. Jowett wasn't a Presbyterian in Birmingham; he was some other brand of Christian. But the call specifically mentioned the Fifth-avenue Presbyterian Church as the custodians of the Almighty dollar, so Jowett did what John Burns, L.D., or Keir Hardie, or any other wise Christian would have done for less than £4,000 a year. He changed his label.

Fellow-workers, the moral for you is this: Stick to your job, if you have one, and be content with your wages, when you get any. Your reward will come after death, in the shape of a nice, new, six pedal harp. Verily, it is easier for a needle to go through the eye of a camel than for a poor man to pass the New York Custom House. A. HOSKINS.

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

LIGHT ON THE LABOUR LEADERS.

THE wail about the attendance of the Labour (!) members upon State occasions being only 29 or 30 instead of 42, was given vent to in the "Labour Leader" of 24th. March last. The advice given to the constituencies to tighten up their representatives is useless in face of the fact that those same Labour members know on which side their bread is buttered, and that they are not representing Labourists in Parliament, but chiefly Liberals. After the confession of the organ of the I.L.P. that they can only command 30 votes (the individual votes varying according to the matter voted upon) we may hope to hear less than hitherto of the boasting of the number of M.P.s the Labour Party control.

Mention has been made of C. Duncan's vote on the armaments question. No doubt Mr. Duncan voted as he did in order to give value in return for a resolution passed by the Barrow-in-Furness Liberal Association E.C. on January 11, 1910, requesting "all Liberal electors on this occasion to vote for the Labour candidate, Mr. Charles Duncan."

As to the drivel given forth by the "Labour Leader" (24.3.11) on Mr. Duncan's case, wherein £8 3s. 9d. is estimated to be the amount per family per annum spent on armaments, this arises from the false conception that out of a bare subsistence wage the worker has something to spare in protecting that country and trade which grind him down. Of course he does not, and cannot, pay for armaments, but if the Labour leaders and their paymasters can only get him to believe that his pocket interest is the same as their own, then they will have made themselves worthy of their hire.

Mr. Duncan on the one hand and the "Labour Leader" and leaders on the other, will be extremely chary of telling the workers the truth, viz., that wages depend fundamentally upon the cost of reproducing the workers' energies from day to day, and are regulated by the competition for jobs, and that the difference between high and low taxation, therefore, will be pocketed by the master class.

If the "Labour Leader" scribe is particularly desirous that the Labour men should vote with consistency, he should advocate that before they are returned their constituents should be agreed. While the policy of the Labour candidates remains what it is, namely, to catch votes on any sort of plank, they must necessarily disagree when the time comes to fulfil their pledges. Let them educate their electorate and make them class-conscious before they accept the position of their representatives, and then, when elected, they can act as one man. You have the edifying spectacle of a "practical party" with one half voting one way and the other half voting in the opposite direction, and then we are told that our policy is too slow!

J. R. Macdonald, M.P., speaking at Leicester on April 9, grew eloquent upon the significance of the Labour Party's work, and said: "The greatest effect of their propaganda had not been to create the I.L.P., but to set men of all parties speaking in Socialist ways and in Socialist directions, so much so . . . that a Tory member had forestalled the Labour Party by introducing a bill giving railway clerks one day's rest in seven. Lord Walmer, who beat Mr. Seddon at Newton-le-Willows, found that if he would retain his seat he must do some of the work Mr. Seddon would have done."

Really, these Labour leaders should be careful, for if the trade unionists and workers generally are told that Tories and Liberals will do the work of the Labour Party, they might begin to save the funds now spent in Labour politics to help pay the £8 odd per family the "Labour Leader" tells them will be their share of the cost of armaments.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, Labour M.P. for Derby, has gone too far in the eyes of the "Labour

Leader" for being present and speaking at a Liberal function in Derby. But what would our contemporary have? There is scarce a Labour member whose seat does not depend upon Liberal votes, and is Mr. Thomas to fly in the face of his bread and butter? The crime he is supposed to have committed is worsened by the fact that it has happened "at a time when the Labour Party is surrounded by censors ever on the look-out for opportunities to belittle the Labour Party's independence." "It behoves every member," the scribe continues, "to emphasise that independence rather than to take any step which may cast the shadow of suspicion or appear in any way to justify carping criticism. So you see that the offence is not so great in itself as in the time it is done and the being found out. Given no censors, and therefore less likelihood of publicity, the Labour representatives (!) could continue to appear on Liberal platforms as in the past."

As the I.L.P. (which party's official organ the "Labour Leader" is) claim to be Socialists, what objection can there be to the members of the Labour Party co-operating with the Liberals outside Parliament? I ask the question in view of the fact that Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald said recently that "it was the duty of Socialists in Parliament to co-operate with non-Socialists." That is why (I again quote Mr. MacDonald at Burnley, 4.10.10), "the foundations [of Socialism] are being laid, and they were actually realising Socialism to-day." So you may guess what kind of Socialism it is at which Socialists—save the mark—and non-Socialists co-operate, especially since "the predominant party must and do, three-quarters of the time, force their issues on the Labour Party" ("Labour Leader," 28.10.10). I suppose the other quarter of the time is spent in adapting measures introduced by the Labour Party which are favourable to the predominant party?

A similar view to Mr. MacDonald's, as expressed at Burnley, is held by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., who, speaking at the Beswick Co-operative Hall, Manchester, said: "A man who only sought the success of his own side would never be the individual to bring about a solution of the great social problems with which we are faced to-day."—"Manchester Guardian," Feb. 23, 1911. An "individual" solving the social problem would be a queer sight.

If the social problem arises from private appropriation of the social products by those few people who possess the means of life of the many, which possession is maintained through political control of the armed forces, then it should be evident to any one that to control the means of life in the interests of the many is the object to be aimed at. The control of the political machinery is the weapon necessary for our object, and to get control of it we must fight the possessing class. The fight between the class possessing and the class requiring the means of life is the class struggle. Anyone conscious of that class struggle will fight for the success of his particular side—either to retain something he has (if he is a capitalist) or to acquire something he has not (if he is a worker); and any trafficking with the enemy is known by the name of treachery.

J. R. Macdonald not only knows, but decides, the policy of the Labour Party, if we may judge from his article headed "The Policy of the Labour Party" in the "Labour Leader," March 31, 1911. He says: "We are not in that position (of supporting the Government in return for promises obtained), and so long as I remain chairman of the Party we never will be in that position." And as a result of said position (whatever it may be) "the Labour Party have obtained a great deal. . . . We have got put in the King's speech promises of two big insurance schemes against unemployment and invalidity, a definite pledge that the Trade Unions shall be freed from the Osborne judgment this year, and payment of members this year."

"Bate me some and I will pay you some and,

as most debtors do, promise you infinitely."—SHAKESPEARE.

Speaking at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, Mr. J. Keir Hardie is reported to have said: "They (the capitalist class) blame us for preaching a class war. They practice a class war." Those who know anything of Mr. Hardie's history will realise how grossly unfair is the aspersion, as applied to him, at any rate. For the enlightenment of those who are not conversant with the history of the champion what-d'ye-call-it, I will quote his written word (1904).

"For my own part I have always maintained that to claim for the Socialist movement that it is a 'class' war, dependent for its success upon the 'class' consciousness of one section of the community, is doing Socialism an injustice and indefinitely postponing its triumph. It is, in fact, lowering it to the level of a faction fight."

Oh, no, Mr. Hardie is no preacher of the class war. He has, on the contrary, always shown a keen anxiety to hide that little fact. Why? ELANBE.

FREE TRADE IN FEMALES.

THE Mormons are busy in our midst.

The Christian henchmen of the capitalists are busy in their midst.

At Birkenhead, where the meek ministers of the "gentle Jesus" are always fighting over something, there has been an anti-Mormon riot. The American Latter Day Saints want women for the Salt Lake market. The English Latter Day Saints want women for the home market. Now, polygamy is a horrible thing, against which the Christian raves. Promiscuity is a mere incident, regrettable but unavoidable.

You remember how angry the Church was with that clergyman who married a Frenchwoman while his English wife still lived, undivorced from him. You can hardly have forgotten how indignant the Church was with one of its curates, the Rev. S. Nythe-Piggott, for living at the Abode of Love with several spiritually-spliced darlings. And you must have noticed how shocked the Church was with that vicar whose lax conduct created so much scandal and with those other holy clerks who recently figured in divorce and affiliation cases.

But the Mormons are a great danger.

They evidently offer certain sinister inducements to our women, for the latter are willing, my eager, to go with them. And what are the counter-inducements to stay home?

Let us note some of them.

At the Easter conference of Telephone employees, a delegate described the conditions under which telephone girls work:

"They are slaves. They sit at the (operator's) board and are driven as if they were slaves. These girls stand from nine to one and then from two to six. It is ruining the health of our girls. Large numbers of them are constantly off sick. Nervous prostration is what they suffer from. At one exchange in Manchester girls are taken downstairs in hysterics. These girls will be the mothers of the future generation, and they are having their nerves absolutely torn away."

The Women's Trade Union League has just exposed the conditions under which waitresses work:

"Many are at work sixteen hours a day, and the general rule in almost all establishments is twelve hours a day on duty. Wages are very low—starvation wages. The girls in some places live in constant danger of the traps and pitfalls laid in their way by unscrupulous men."

Can it be that those base, unprincipled Mormons offer English women an existence in Utah which is not body-wearing, nerve-racking, and soul-degrading, and that English women have so far forgotten the lessons of the Church as to prefer a polygamous marriage there to a life of sweating or prostitution here?

If so, the thing must be stopped. We have only 80,000 acknowledged prostitutes, not including future prostitutes, on London's streets, and *pro rata* elsewhere. To relieve this market, ere it be quite congested, is a crime in the eyes of honest, virtuous Christian capitalism.

A. HOSKINS.

REVIEW.

"The Shame of Christian Socialism," by Sir Guildford Molesworth, K.C.I.E., with an introduction by W. Lawler Wilson. Westminster: St. Stephens Press. 2d.

The above pamphlet is the outcome of a quarrel between anti-Socialists, wherein ye pot calleth ye kettle black. Ye pot (in this case Sir Molesworth, with Lawler Wilson as the lid) accuses the Reverend Maxted (S.D.P. "Christian Socialist") of being as self-contradictory as a "Christian Atheist"—all of which is perfectly true.

Ye kettle (yelept the Rev. Maxted) accuses Sir Molesworth of ignorance and misstatement, at the same time pointing out that the many quotations the doughty knight adduces against him are "simply a compilation from anti-Socialist publications." All of which is equally true. Indeed, that is obvious, for the authors include Hyndman, Quelch, Blatchford, Lord Meath, Lecky, Bakunin, Bernard Shaw, Schaffle, Oscar Wilde, Hobhouse, Lloyd George, Mr. Ure, and Sir Guildford Molesworth! I cannot explain the omission of Lord Rosebery from the list.

In his foreword Mr. Wilson begins with a general abuse of Socialists, which looks odd beside the succeeding paragraph, wherein he attempts to display a touching air of injured innocence.

I was, moreover, somewhat shocked at first on reading that Mr. Wilson accuses the Rev. Maxted of being the "flamen of the Countess of Warwick," but on getting down the dictionary I found that it might be worse.

It is also worth noting that Mr. Wilson tells us in his introduction that "Sir Guildford Molesworth's quotations are not only damning, they are genuine."

This is undoubtedly a very necessary addition, for it has hitherto been a speciality of Anti-Socialist "facts" to be "damning" without being in any way genuine. F. C. W.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

F. W. DUNSTAN writes:

There is a question relating to Socialism which, it seems to me, cannot be answered very favourably for that system of society, which you Socialists say will satisfy all the material needs of every member of the community provided he does his share of the necessary work of production. How would that society meet the demand for extra labour-power rendered necessary by terrific earthquakes, and also by the opening-up of new lands, entailing the building of new factories, railways, etc., all of which are easily met under capitalism?

Socialism is advocated as the remedy for the poverty from which the workers suffer. That poverty is caused, not by earthquakes, but by the capitalist monopoly of the essentials of life. We, therefore, do not propose schemes to deal with earthquakes, or such natural catastrophes. When great seismic disturbances do occur, capitalism does not shrink in its treatment of their effects. When St. Martinique and Messina were destroyed, the "great organisers" of to-day merely called upon charity for aid, and Mansion House funds were the order of the day. But there is another side to the earthquake factor. The workers of the Pacific Slope looked upon the earthquake of San Francisco as a very good-thing, because in this anarchistic "system" it meant "work at last." When men and women under Socialism labour but a fraction of the time now worked, they would be in an infinitely superior position to cope with these "exhibitions of God's boundless love"; and the same applies to the question of "opening-up new lands." Mr. Dunstan says the effects of earthquakes are easily made good, and the demands for developing new lands easily met under capitalism. By whom? The working class, of course. Then they can as easily do these things for themselves as for profit-mongers, especially as those who now "toil not" will be there as workers to lend a hand. A. KOHN.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

S. J. CROSSWICK (Kington) and S. ROBINSON (West Gorton).—Next month.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MAY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Nightman	E. Fairbrother	H. Joy
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson	C. Ginger	J. Kelly
Finsbury Park	3.0 A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald	A. Reginald
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 J. Nightman	A. W. Pearson	C. Parker	E. Fairbrother
Kennington, Sandrof. St.	7.30 J. Nightman	F. W. Stearn	H. Cooper	J. Holmes
Kennington Triangle	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy	E. Fairbrother	R. Fox
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 J. Halls	J. Holmes	J. Nightman	A. Hoskyns
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 F. Dawkins	H. Martin	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald
Parliament Hill	11.30 T. W. Allen	J. Halls	H. Martin	A. Pearson
Peckham Triangle	7.0 H. Joy	E. Fairbrother	A. Anderson	R. H. Kent
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd. Balisa	11.30 C. Ginger	R. Fox	H. Joy	T. W. Allen
Tooting Broadway	7.30 F. Stearn	E. Fairbrother	J. Halls	J. Holmes
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30 J. Holmes	H. Joy	H. Martin	R. Fox
Walthamstow, Church Hill	11.30 A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins	R. Fox	J. Fitzgerald
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	7.30 H. Martin	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns
Watford Market Place	8.0 A. Reginald	A. Jacobs	J. Holmes	T. W. Allen
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 E. Fairbrother	R. Fox	H. Joy	F. W. Stearn
Woolwich, Beresford Sq.	11.30 T. W. Allen	F. Leigh	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Woolwich, Highbury Cnr. 2.30.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	J. Nightman	G. Holmes	F. J. Rourke
Woolwich, Highbury Cnr. 2.30.	7.30 R. Fox	R. H. Kent	J. Kelly	A. Jacobs
Woolwich, Highbury Cnr. 2.30.	11.30 R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA. —F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.	BURNLEY. —G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.	CENTRAL. —Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.	EARLSFIELD. —R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield-rd, Wimbledon. Branch meets Sats., 29 Thornsett-rd at 8.0. Rooms open every evening.	EAST HAM. —Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.	EDMONTON. —Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.	FRASERBURGH. —H. J. Whipp, Sec., 53, Broad-st., Fraserburgh.	FULHAM. —J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.	GRAVESEND. —Communications to W. Wragg, Denton Hospital, Gravesend.	ISLINGTON. —S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road, Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd, Holloway, N.	LAMBETH. —H. Martin, Sec., 112, Gloucester Rd., Peckham, S.E. Branch meets Fridays, 8 p.m., at 38 Brixton-rd, S.W.	MANCHESTER. —T. McCarthy, Sec., 42, Gledden-st., Bradford-rd., Manchester. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, Manchester.	NOTTINGHAM. —L. Shearstone, Sec., 4, Balfour rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sats. at 7.30 at Cobden House, Peachey-st.	PADDINGTON. —Communications to Sec., 14 Great Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W., where Branch meets Thurs., at 8.30 p.m.	PECKHAM. —W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelyn-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.	ROMFORD DIVISION. —All communications to branch Secretary, Head office, pro. tem.	STOKE NEWINGTON. —S. Quelch, Sec., 162, High-st., Shoreditch, E.C. Branch meets Mon., at 8.15 at Lockhearts, 2, Dalston Ln. (2nd floor).	THORNTON HEATH. —A. McIntyre, Sec., 29, Giltland-rd., Thornton Heath.	TOOTING. —H. Wallis, Sec., 167, Longley Rd., Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Goringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.	TOTTENHAM. —F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.	WALTHAMSTOW. —Communications to Sec., 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.	WATFORD. —G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road, Watford. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at Labour Church, Dartan rd. Public discussion at 8.45.	WEST HAM. —Communications to Secretary. Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms.
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**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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LONDON, JUNE 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

KING CAPITAL'S CORONATION AND ITS REAL MEANING TO THE WORKING CLASS.

A KING is to be crowned.

In the presence of our Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Premiers of the five dominions of "our" mighty Empire, and the assembled monarchs of many lands, and the Lord God of Israel and the Stock Exchange himself.

The Crown, and the Orb, and the Sceptre, and the Sword of State, and the Cap of Maintenance, and the Rod with the Dove, and the Monkey on the Stick, and all the other symbolical insignia and regalia which have come down to us from barbarism, along with ye Ancient Order of Foresters and ye game of skittles, are to be brought from their dungeon in the Tower (where they have rivalled a pawnbroker's window) and taken to the House of God at Westminster, there to be used in the great ceremony.

And there, before a vast concourse of gentlemen who have won the same distinction in the divorce court that their forefathers gained in piratical, slave-hunting, and other plundering forays of the past, and of high-born dames whose "Sir Joshua Reynolds" peach-bloom cheeks are veritable triumphs of the house-decorator's art, and other high-born dames whose ancient lineage goes back to the mighty Pork Kings of Chicago, one George Wettin, a most cosmopolitan British gentleman, will swear great oaths to be faithful to certain hoary superstitions, and to uphold certain important and worthy institutions, and to lay hold of eternal life, and to do it all for the dirt-cheap, upset-competition price of a million a year or nearest offer.

And then another gentleman, who makes a point of doing the job in his nightshirt, scabs on and scandalises every tiddler in the Kingdom by giving the said G. Wettin a dry shampoo with consecrated hair oil, in the full blaze of the public eye, and to the evident perturbation of the Unicorn, who claims

Shampooing of George Wettin. affinity with the barbers by virtue of the pole sticking out of his forehead.

What does it all mean: the Crown, and the Orb, and the Sceptre, and the Sword of State, and the Cap of Maintenance, and the rest of the jewelled symbols?

What does it mean: the swelling Anthem, the mumbled prayer, the intoned exhortation, the anointing with oil, the Crowning and Enthronisation?

What does it mean: the barbaric pomp and splendour, the lavish display of wealth, the clank of arms and armour and the jingle of spurs, the foregathering from the ends of the earth of the Empire's rulers?

What does it mean: the flaunting flags, the streets lined with police and military, the hoarse acclamation of pallid millions whose rags flutter a significant reply to the bunting overhead, the

bestowing of a meal upon thousands of little children whom hunger makes glad to accept even such a trifle from hands so heavy-laden with wealth that they cannot feel the weight of the charitable grains they scatter?

We are told that these gaudy jewels, this "impressive service," are full of symbolism and historic significance. They are indeed. To the worker who will think it is very obvious that the Crown and the Sceptre and the rest are the symbols of ruling power. But who it is that rules, and who it is that are ruled, are matters less generally understood.

It is commonly believed that "royal" power is the attribute of the monarch of a constitutional country, but nothing could be farther from the truth. That question our capitalist masters in this country fought out many years ago. They have left the King his name and his robes, his Crown and his palaces, but they have stripped him of every vestige of power. The "Crown" is not the King, in any capacity, but the capitalist State. The King's Speech to Parliament is written by his Ministers, even the prerogative of mercy is not the King's, but belongs to the capitalist Cabinet.

The subservience of the royalty of capitalist countries to their capitalist paymasters is shown in such acts as that of the present King's father (then Prince of Wales) in publicly associating himself, at the time of the "trial" of the Jameson raiders, with Cecil Rhodes, the arch-fiend in that disgusting business, who was even then busy engineering the war which was to give the cosmopolitan mine-owners £4,000,000 a year in extra profits, at the cost of so many thousands of workingmen's lives.

Even the swearing to uphold the institutions of capitalism is all bunkum and make-believe. There is to-day, in this country at all events, no institution of capitalism that the capitalists themselves are not fully able to maintain, or that they trust to other hands than their own. Why, this man whom they swear to uphold the very walls of capitalism, they do not trust even with the command of one of the fleets of his own navy, for fear he might be in a position to dictate terms to them, or act detrimentally to their interests.

The King as such is a nonentity, a dummy, a convenient cloak behind which the capitalist class carry on their operations of robbing the workers of the fruits of their toil. As a private individual, the landlord of vast estates, George Wettin may make himself feared, but no one trembles at his royal word, or quakes at the thunder of his anointed brow. If the great ones of the capitalist world bow and scrape before him, it is only because he is the incarnation of capitalism, the symbol of the domination of a

class of parasites and thieves, the image of themselves triumphant. They know that while the workers will flock in millions to cheer this straw man of theirs, dragged through the streets like a fifth of November guy, they and their plunder are safe. Hence they set the example of dedication, knowing well they will be followed by their sheep.

The aim of the master class is to keep the workers ignorant, for an ignorant subject class, not knowing how to act in their own interests, can be more easily and inexpensively kept in subjection than an educated one. In fostering this ignorance the first thing to be done is to preserve the inertia of the mind—the tendency of the mind to run in an unchanging direction.

The capitalists know, as well as we do, that it is changing environment that causes the alteration in the mental outlook of the people. Their great endeavour, therefore, is to oppose to that ceaseless evolution in the world about them, over which they have no control, counter-acting conditions and influences. Hence they cling, with the tenacity of desperation, to the empty husks and decaying forms of the past.

This can be seen in every dominant interest, since every interest, when it has become dominant, becomes conservative and reactionary. It explains why the Catholic Church clings so frantically to its out-of-date forms, why the Anglican and other Churches set their faces so relentlessly against innovation, and why capitalist countries would rather convert their monarchies to their own ends than abolish them.

A king, in the popular mind, rules by divine sanction and in accordance with grey and hoary custom—as the Archbishop will remind the world at the great shampooing, in the words: "Be thou anointed with holy oil, as kings, priests, and

The Use of Kings. prophets were anointed. And as Solomon was appointed king by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, so be you anointed, blessed and consecrated king over this people, whom the Lord thy God has given you to govern."

The capitalists, on the other hand, have no ancient usage behind them, no special appointment from heaven. Unless they can disguise the fact of their dominance, they are clearly seen to rule by night alone a perpetual challenge to night. A ruling class which has to confess that it rules because it possesses the means of life already has one foot in the grave, for it holds a lamp to the line of class cleavage that all men may see.

This is the real use of monarchs in capitalist States. Behind the person of the King the capitalists can hide the fact that it is they in reality who rule. By parading their kings before the workers at every possible opportunity and way,

every circumstance of pomp and display that their ingenuity can invent, by investing them with divine right and something of divinity itself, the capitalists awaken and stimulate and nurture that spirit of reverence which is so deadly an enemy to the growth of revolutionary ideas, and so detract attention from themselves.

As it is to the interest of the capitalist class to represent that they, together with the working class, are subservient to a greater power, and to set the example of loyalty to their king, it becomes the imperative duty of Socialists to strip the sham of all its disguising tinsel, and to expose the grim, sordid, unromantic, iron form of tyrant Capital beneath it all. No kingly power exists to-day in Western Europe. Everywhere the owners of the means of production have either bent the monarchy to their will or broken it. Power lies alone with the class of property-owners. They rule who "buzz" us to the check-board at dawn, who tell us we are "sacked" at dusk; they rule who grind our faces on the factory mill-stones, and rob us at the pay-box; they rule who lock us out of the workshops and quarries and mines, in order to convince us by starvation that their view of the value of our labour is correct; they rule who make mockery of their own laws, and bury our poor fellows alive in blazing coal-seams in the bowels of the earth. They rule who own.

Clear your minds, fellow-workers, of any idea that these Prime Ministers of the Dominions of the Empire have gathered together to render homage to the house of Hanover. They come to celebrate the dominion of their class and to take steps in conference assembled, to ensure the continued crucifixion of Labour. The whole of this inglorious show, indeed, is subordinate to this object. It is not an effort to solidify and make more stable the monarchy, but to blind the workers to their true position, and make capitalist domination more secure.

It is for this reason that the impudent thieves mock your poverty by flaunting in your faces the wealth they have stolen from you. They wish you to believe that you are sharers in the stupendous opulence all their efforts could not hide from your vision. The late Lord Salisbury, wise in his generation, once cynically said that what the working class wanted was not education but a circus. They are giving us a circus, in order to make our minds less receptive of education.

Fellow-workers, there is but one meaning attaching to class rule, and that is class plunder. No man wishes to rule over another except to plunder him. Consider whence comes all this wealth and luxury which is to riot before your weary eyes? Is there one jot or tittle of it that you have not made? You, the workers of the world, are the true Atlas. You carry the world upon your shoulders. Your strong arms sow, and reap, and gather the harvest of the field, your stout hearts face the terrors of the mine and battle with the dangers of the deep; your virile brains conquer natural forces, and turn the tyrants of the Cosmic System into agents of wealth production. And what is your portion of it all?

This question is answered by the ranks of armed men who press your serried masses into the gutters, by the gaudy regimental banners whose last glorious inscriptions are "Belfast" and "Tonypandy," by the proposal to compel you to pay to ensure that you shall have 6s. a week to keep wife and family on when you are unemployed.

As long as you are ruled, starvation will be your lot, for those who rule over you can always plunder you and always will. You are ruled, not by kings, but by those who possess the land, mines, factories, machinery, railways, and other means of production and distribution, and just because they possess those things. Since you are denied access to those things all the doors of life are shut against you except that of the labour market. You must become wage-slaves, must sell your energies to those who own the productive forces. This means that goods are produced for profit and that profit that wealth you produce but which is taken away from you, goes to glut the market and to throw you out of work, so that you and your children starve when the warehouses are fullest.

The remedy for all this is to take these means of production and distribution away from their present owners and make them the property of the whole community. Bread will then be produced to feed people, not for profit, and clothes to clothe them, and houses to shelter them. All able-bodied adults will take part in the necessary social labour, and all will partake freely of the wealth produced.

To do this the workers must study Socialism and organise to capture political power, in order that the political machinery may be used to end for ever the class domination which political power alone upholds. A. E. JACOB.

CONFUSIONIST VICTORY IN WATFORD

AMONG the "Socialist" victories which the pseudo-Socialist Press has been rejoicing over lately perhaps the Municipal successes at Watford deserve notice, by reason of the new and original vote catching dodge which resulted in the return of the three "Socialist" and Labour candidates.

The noble cause of propagating working-class confusion is represented in Watford by the Labour Church, the Socialist Society, and the Trades and Labour Council. Two of these bodies have been represented on the Urban District Council for the last six years by a Mr. Gorle (S.D.P. official), who for some time previous to the March elections was engaged in advertising the momentous issues on which they were fought, cleverly provoking opposition from the short-sighted tradesmen, and stirring up working-class sentiment. Thus his bitterly opposed proposal that every house in the town be provided with a sanitary bin by the landlord had about six weeks to "soak in."

In addition to this revolutionary demand the usual "progressive" program was exploited, with "more sympathetic attitude towards the unemployed" and "greater consideration for allotment holders" thrown in. Incidentally Messrs. Julian and Gorle expressed themselves as more or less in favour of the overthrow of capitalism. Mr. Julian, who stood for the solidly working class quarter, Callow Land, laid down the proposition in a tone that almost gave the impression that he meant it, while from Gorle's more cautious address it was clear that "it's no good being in too much of a hurry."

Mr. Mansfield stood for King's Ward—chiefly inhabited by highly respectable clerks—and his program was framed accordingly. He declined to have anything to do with the vote repelling word "Socialism," and at a meeting at the Victoria Schools on April 22, declared that municipal matters should be dealt with from the standpoint of "pure citizenship." At this meeting he said that it proved he was not the revolutionary firebrand his opponent represented him to be, that the "extreme" Socialists of Watford (ourselves) were violently opposing him. He also spoke of his twenty years in the Volunteers and Territorials, and of his equally long experience in a railway accountancy office—the latter, doubtless, to assure the rate-payers that they would get their money's worth in "directing ability." The candidate showed his ignorance of the very rudiments of Socialism by claiming that the working class pay the taxes.

It was, of course, left to us to strip away the humbug of "citizenship" and "public spirit," and point out to the workers their economic position and its bearing upon the elections. How every reform on the programs of the Labour candidates was but another prop to a decaying system; how poverty and misery were but the effects of the social system, and could not be removed without touching the cause, and finally, how, to overthrow capitalism the workers must capture all political power, national and local.

A manifesto in which the above principles were simply laid down was widely distributed in all three wards, and received unctuous and extensive mention in the local capitalist Press. Doubtless time will show that the branch gained a good advertisement therefrom.

The workers of Watford are waking up, and although the confusionists have tricked them again, the very demonstration of the futility of the reformists' endeavours which this "victory" will afford them is but another of the hard lessons of experience which must inevitably drive them to the Socialist Party's position.

WATFORD BRANCH, P. P. SIMONS, Sec.

REFORMERS AT LOGGERHEADS.

PERHAPS the most important debate at the recent Social-Democratic Party conference was that relating to the question of armaments. Not that the increase or decrease of armaments is a matter that in itself is of any vital interest to the working class. But as showing the utter disruption and chaos existing within the ranks of the S.D.P. the debate is worthy of some small consideration.

The following is what happened. A resolution was moved by the Central Hackney delegate (Zelda Kahan) calling upon the organisation ("disorganisation") would be rather a better word) to combat the demand for additional armaments. Immediately the Executive (through Quelch) moved an amendment, asking the Conference to endorse that, while it was in entire agreement with the resolutions of the International Socialist Congresses in favour of peace and the reduction of armaments, yet seeing that war and armaments are inevitable consequences of the rivalries in the modern commercial and industrial system, an immediate object for which the S.D.P. was to work was the maintenance of an adequate Navy for national defence and the re-organisation of our military system on the basis of a national citizen army.

In the first place it may well be asked how the Executive can be in favour of the reduction of armaments and at the same time advocate the maintenance of an adequate Navy, or, as Quelch put it in his speech, the "continued expansion of armaments."

In the second place, Hyndman, speaking in favour of the amendment, said that "our navy stood to us in the same position as a Citizen Army in a Continental country." If this is so why advocate both a big navy and a citizen army? Perhaps the "Father of Democracy" will explain to his less gifted children this seeming inconsistency.

The Executive Committee's amendment was eventually carried by 47 votes to 33 on being submitted to a branch vote. Since when the fat has been in the fire with a vengeance. Prominent members, e.g., Herbert Burrows, Tom Mann, J. F. Green, have resigned their membership of the S.D.P. "Justice" has been inundated with letters complaining of the whole conduct of the debate, protesting against the unfair way in which the Executive amendment was sprung upon the poor, unsuspecting delegates, and asking that the amendment be expunged from the records of the Conference.

Obviously the branch vote given could not in any way have been the opinion of the branches, as the amendment was, against all rules, only introduced on the morning of the debate (vide letter from J. F. Green, "Justice," 29.4.11).

The irregularity of the debate is apparent from letters sent to "Justice," by which it can be seen that no further amendments were allowed either to the original resolution or to the Executive amendment as a substantive resolution; that, moreover, Hyndman and Quelch were allowed practically to dominate the discussion, any adverse speeches being vetoed by the chairman.

The S.D.P. really seems to be getting, if such a thing be possible, into a worse tangle than ever. The point to be considered by the working class (and this, of course, applies equally to those workers who are at present members of the S.D.P.) is not whether armaments should be increased; is not whether we should or should not have a citizen army. What, after all, do these trivialities matter? The question is this. Is the S.D.P. advocating and working for Socialism, or is it simply a party wherein the rank and file are mere pawns in a game played by its prominent members and leaders?

The easy way in which the majority of the S.D.P. have always allowed themselves to be out-manoeuvred and dominated by Hyndman, Quelch & Co. is really more pathetic than amusing. From a working-class standpoint at any rate the amount of confusion and nonsense spread by such reform parties as the S.D.P. is not the least tragic feature of the tragedy of Capitalism. F. J. WEBB.

The Standard Bread for the mind is the Socialist Standard. It contains 100 per cent of the whole working class political berry.

JOTTINGS.

ONE of the latest schemes for exploiting the labour of the workers has lately been placed before the capitalists of America by its originator, F. W. Taylor. Roughly, the scheme is to so systematise work among employees that no time is lost, nor material wasted. In bricklaying, for instance, it is shown that by the application of "scientific management," the motions in laying a single brick have been reduced from eighteen to five. Mr. Taylor says it is possible to get at least three times as much work out of employees by his method. It is claimed that one of the most important features of this scheme of skinning is that it does away with strikes and brings peace between the capitalists and the workers.

There is not the slightest doubt about its success—from the capitalists' point of view. It only remains for the master class of this country to follow the lead of their American prototypes. A scheme of this kind worked in conjunction with Lloyd George's great "confidence" trick, would prove an effective combination for still further strengthening the position of the master class.

To-day 100 men make 250,000 bricks where twelve years ago they produced only 30,000. Under the new scheme the output will be still further increased. To-day 850 "hands" in one factory produce 225,000,000 matches a day. Seventeen years ago 5,000 "hands" in thirty-six factories produced only 140,000,000 a day. Professor Herzog, of Austria, has estimated that 5,000,000 with the help of modern machinery, could support a population of 20,000,000 with all the necessities and small luxuries of life by working one and a half hours per day. As production to-day is carried on for profit and not for use, it is highly improbable that such a scheme as that outlined by the professor will be put into operation.

"Justice" of 22.4.11 criticises the Liberal-like attitude of the I.L.P. Conference, yet when one reads the reports of both Conferences (S.D.P. and I.L.P.) one fails to detect the difference between the two. Both stand for social reforms and the perpetuation of the present system. Both spent the biggest portion of the time discussing such abstract questions as armaments and "palliatives"—things that are of no use to the working class. The real issue—Socialism—was entirely obscured. That there is a bond of interest, if not of friendship, between the two parties is shown by the following extract from "Justice" (4.3.11):

"We don't believe that the members of the Labour Party are 'fakers and frauds' as it pleases certain impossibilists to call them. We do not think they are venal, corrupt, or cowards, traitors or flunkeys. On the contrary we think they are all honourable men, and some of them we know to be jolly good fellows."

Perhaps that is why the S.D.P. Conference rejected the resolution to affiliate with the Labour Party—they are afraid they might corrupt it!

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., commenting upon the lack of intelligence and the reactionary tendency of the I.L.P. in the "Christian Commonwealth" (19.4.11), says:

"The unrest which exists in the I.L.P. and which is having its effect upon the usefulness of the party, is due to the fact that there is a section of its membership who are utterly devoid of a knowledge of political history, and have not the shadow of a conception of the way in which the reforms they talk about can, and will, be brought about."

Exactly. On the admission of their "leader" they do not understand the Socialist position—not even to the extent of knowing how reforms will be achieved! Whether Mr. Snowden belongs to this section he omits to state. I leave it to those of my readers to judge who have followed up his "political history." He also informs us that the I.L.P. has decreased in membership during the last two years. Its income, too, and the sales of literature have

fallen to an alarming extent—alarming, of course, to them. Mr. Snowden attributes it to the lack of intelligence amongst its members—a statement I am in entire agreement with.

According to Mr. W. T. Stead, the "Weekly Budget's" weakly oracle, every man will be a slave under Socialism. That he believes the present system to be an ideal one is evident by a statement he made in a recent issue of that journal. Said he: "England as a rule may be said broadly to stand for liberty. The individual can do as he pleases, go where he pleases, and live where he pleases, without asking anyone's leave and without waiting for anyone's consent."

How beautiful! But Mr. Stead does not discriminate. A certain section of society can, it is true, enjoy all these privileges, but it does not include the working class. Instead, it is the non-creative, loafing, parasitical class who possess all the privileges—by virtue of their ownership of the means of living. Liberty? Yes! Liberty to work *sometimes*—for a miserable pittance. Liberty to die of starvation. Liberty to rot in stinking slums or to sink into vice and crime! To the workers England stands neither for liberty nor anything else, except exploitation. Thousands leave these shores in the course of a year to try their luck in other lands, but only to find that the same process of bleeding goes on there.

NOTTINGHAM BRANCH REPORT.

DIRTY ANTI-SOCIALIST UNION TRICK AT THE LACE TOWN.

Since the formation of the Nottingham Branch last July we have been spreading that working-class enlightenment which must precede the workers' emancipation. We soon got to grips with the enemy, and a debate was fixed up with a follower of the "meek and lowly one." Comrade Anderson did the needful, and we disposed of a good deal of literature and increased our membership, besides showing the antagonism between Socialism and religion—a gratifying result.

Next the Anti-Socialist Union made an appearance and held a meeting on the Market Square. We promptly challenged the speaker, a Mr. Glover, to debate, and, to our surprise and delight, he accepted the challenge, and said he would be prepared to meet our representative on the following Sunday. Evidently he was unaware that a branch of the S.P.G.B. existed in Nottingham, as I will shortly show.

We made the necessary arrangements for the debate, and then on the Saturday our opponent informed the branch that, owing to the religious objections of his Conservative friends, he could not debate on the Sabbath. Yet on the same day he advertised the debate in the local Press, and was in the Market Place with his carriage on the Sunday night.

Mr. Glover's object was obvious. He asked from the carriage if there was an I.L.P. man who would take the platform. A member of the S.D.P. got up, and, as might be expected, Mr. Glover dealt with the reform position, the refusal of the Labour Party to support the Woolwich amendment, Right to Work Bill, etc.

The brave defender of capitalism, after this honest and clean and typical Anti-Socialist manoeuvre, wrote to the head office of his Union saying that the "Socialist Party" had faked the debate.

This proves our contention that the A.S.U. have nothing to fear from such conglomerations of freaks as the S.D.P. and the I.L.P.

Several lectures have been given at the Notts Cosmopolitan Debating Society by our comrades Anderson, Fitzgerald, Neumann, Kent and Watts, on subjects appertaining to that working-class education which it is our mission to extend. Space will not permit me to give an account of all the good work done by those lectures. The last of them was on "Socialism and Religion," and our comrade the lecturer gave the "rainbow-chasers" something to chase.

One apathetic reformer wanted to know when we were going to stop pulling to pieces and begin to construct. The answer was when we have cleared the rubbish out of the way. S.

FACTS AGAINST FICTION.

WHAT DID KARL MARX SAY?

A *Worshipper* of the Assistant Home Secretary (Mr. C. F. G. Masterman) has been writing to the "Barnet Press" (April 15) to air his intense hatred of Socialism. In the course of his long tirade in our Liberal contemporary he tells us that Karl Marx, the German Socialist, was the author of the following formula:

"All wealth is produced by labour, and therefore to the labourers all wealth is due."

It may interest other anti-Socialists besides the one in question, to know that the formula quoted is born of the fertile imagination of Mr. W. H. Mallock, a well-known writer of current fiction, and occurs in a comic "Examination of Socialism" with which he "astonished the natives" of America about a couple of years ago. This euphemistically styled "Critical Examination of Socialism" was also published in this country, and in it Mr. Mallock kindly fathers this formula upon Karl Marx. Really, the book is largely composed of garbled quotations from cover to cover.

The writer in the "Barnet Press" (Mr. Wooton) proceeds thus:

"Moreover, the doctrine is reaffirmed by the Socialist Party of Great Britain in the following shape:

"Wealth is natural material converted by labour-power to man's use, and, as such, is consequently produced by the working class alone."

"It is a self-evident fallacy to which one need not devote much argument to explode. Socialists readily abandon it when challenged; in fact it is only reserved for presentation in its most alluring form when challenge is improbable."

There! You see much argument in unnecessary for the explosion. But, strange to say, the writer hasn't thought it worth while to produce *any*, but simply quotes the following from the fertile Mallock:

"Though labour is essential to the production of wealth, even in the smallest quantities, the distinguishing productivity of industry in the modern world depends not upon the labour but the ability with which the labour is directed."

Karl Marx, in his illustrious work, "Das Capital" (p. 10) clearly pointed out that the articles produced from day to day in Society were produced simply and solely by the application of labour-power to natural material. That labour-power, he told us, is composed of the physical and mental energy which it is necessary to put forth in order to mold and shape nature-given material to the forms required in Society. Now Karl Marx also showed that the only class concerned in making wealth is the working class, and that the ability necessary to direct the various processes is exercised by the salaried members of the working class, such as foremen, managers, and the like. What function does the capitalist class perform in industry? Everybody except the Rip Van Winkles of the Anti-Socialist schools, knows that the capitalist class to-day are not engaged in industry at all. They are only concerned with commerce, which only plays a part in buying and selling the things produced already. Business to-day is typified by the limited liability concern, owned by absentee shareholders, who never come near the company except to collect their profit-bearing coupons. They carry on their concern by appointing the most interested of their number as directors, whose function it is, not to produce wealth, but to arrange the robbery of the working class. The major portion of the wealth is taken by those who have nothing whatever to do with "the dignity of toil" except to lecture upon it! That the working class are robbed has been made clear, not only by Socialists, but by such prominent members of the Liberal party as Chiozza Money and Lloyd George, also by well-known Tories like the chairman of the Anti-Socialist Union, Mr. Claude Lowther, who deplored the fact (Lowther v. Bannington) that after a life of toil the reward of honest old age was the workhouse! Our Liberal apologist may also be reminded that such noted Liberal economists as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill gave credence to the "self-evident fallacy" he mentions. Let any anti-Socialist tell us how wealth is produced by the capitalist class. K.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom money orders should be made payable.

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THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1911.

THE MENACE OF STATE INSURANCE.

THE sensation of the year, after all, is not the coronation, but the Liberal party's bold bid for popular favour, and cunning attempt to beat the Labour Party at its own treacherous game. We refer, of course, to the projected Bill "To provide for insurance against loss of health, and for the prevention and cure of sickness, and for insurance against unemployment, and for purposes incidental thereto."

It is rather an awkward predicament for the Labour Party to be in, to be compelled to assist in their own eclipse, and it is evident that they do so with a very bad grace. Of course, on the principle of making the best of a bad job, they claim that the proposed measure is a lame and halting plagiarism of something that they had upon their Ah-Sin-like sleeve, and that, such as it is, it is the direct outcome of the pressure they have brought to bear upon the Liberal Party.

The utter fraud of this claim is sufficiently shown by the spineless attitude of the former over the Lords' Veto question. How they slunk grovelling to heel like whipped curs, so bereft even of canine spunk that they dared not so much as turn and snarl; how they left it to the Irish Party to force the Government to cast about for fresh subterfuges; how, eventually, to try and cover the fact that they have sold themselves and those they profess to represent, they were forced to plead that they were not rogues but fools, not dishonest but incompetent, that they had not sold their constituents, but had found themselves, greatly to their surprise, unfitted to perform the work they had undertaken to do, nincompoops without the gumption to pull off a political coup that is screaming to be taken: all this is too fresh in our minds to allow us to attach any importance to the claim that the Labour Party have forced the Liberals to take the step they now propose. No, white livers are not so easily flushed with the red blood of courage, or the diseased backbone so soon hardened into a supporting column for muscle and force. The Labour Party cannot even hold itself up. It needs the supporting hand of the Liberals to keep it from falling into the gutter. That supporting hand was lent it in order that it might be a foil against the Conservative party, in order, in short, that manufacturing interests might get a chance to win popular favour as against landed interests and landlordism. And when the Liberals no longer require this straw man they have lifted up, they will lose their hold upon it, and it will tumble into the mud of the gutter, where it rightly belongs, to be spat upon by those who pass its rotting heap, holding their noses.

No, a body that cannot hold itself up can hardly exert force against that which is holding it up. The Labourites themselves have admitted that they dare not imperil the Liberal Government, because if it should fall it would fall on them, and smash them out of existence.

One of the reasons, as no doubt the Labour Party realise as well as anybody, that the Bill was framed at this juncture was that it served to render the Labour crew even more dependent upon their Liberal masters, inasmuch that it shows that it is upon the Liberals that the hankers after reform must depend to carry out the Labour Party programme, and not upon the so-called champions of the working-class. If the Liberals persist in this line of policy, it must prove fatal to that conglomeration of self-seeking leeches whom Ramsay MacDonald marshals upon the veins of the working class.

The cunning Liberal Cabinet have gone just about as far as the popular sentiment is likely to follow them. This throws on the Labour Party the onus of asking for that which will be decidedly unpopular—an unfortunate circumstance for them. But they are between the devil and the deep sea. To confess that the Liberals are offering all that they themselves could demand is to confess themselves unnecessary, even from the reformers' point of view, while to ask for more is to run their nose against the wall of popular prejudice, and put it out of joint.

They raise the cry that the widows and orphans have been betrayed; that the Bill ought to have contained some provision for paying a weekly sum to the family of the deceased breadwinner. But here again the Liberals have them on the hop, for it is hardly likely that the workers at large are going to welcome the suggestion, even as coming from the Labour Party, to dock their wages in order to relieve the rates of the "burden" of supporting their families should they die, more especially in view of the fact that any such provision would certainly be of such miserable proportions that they would be better off without it.

The dishing of the Labour Party, however, is not the only reason for the projection of the Bill. Another reason was very clearly set forth by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech introducing the Bill in the House in the following words:

"What is the interest of the employer in this matter? His interest is the efficiency of his workmen, and there is no doubt at all that a great insurance scheme of this kind removes a great strain of pressing burden from the shoulders of the working classes, and increases the efficiency of the workmen enormously. The working men whom I met during the trades-union movement told me that many a time they used to go on working at their business because they dared not give it up, as they could not afford to, and it would have been better for them to have been in the doctor's hands. This procedure generally brings about a very bad breakdown, and not only that, when a man is below par neither the quantity nor the quality of his work is very good. I have taken the trouble to make some inquiry from the German employers as to their experience of insurance from this point of view, and I have got a number of answers which, perhaps, later on the House would be interested in having circulated. Here is one instance out of many. It is the opinion of an employer in the steel industry. He said:

'There can be no doubt that the Insurance Laws, together with the increase of wages, have exercised an enormously beneficial influence upon the health, standard of living, and the efficiency of workers.'

Another great employer of Labour says:

'That from the employers' standpoint these laws pay, since the efficiency of the workman is increased.'

And now there is this very curious position in Germany that the employers, and the largest employers, are voluntarily offering to increase their contributions to national insurance for increased benefits."

A very illuminating argument, that, and one that the dullest can understand. It explains beyond misunderstanding what interests prompt the framing of such a measure, and why it is that those bitter enemies, Tweedledum and Tweedledee, always thirsting for each other's blood, fall on each other's necks in slobbering emotion over the Elysian prospects opened out to the workers for, as the Chancellor elegantly puts it, "the price of two pints of the cheapest beer per week." It also bears out, to the very letter, what the Socialist Party has always contended, that reforms cannot touch the wage-slave position of the working class, cannot materially benefit the exploited of capitalism, and is in-

variably made to serve the ruling class in society.

Consider! At present there are a large number of unemployed and sick workers who fall upon the rates. When the Bill becomes law the premiums of those employed will, to a large extent, be made to support these. So far it is a measure to compel the workers to support their unemployed and sick, and, as is admitted, to prevent those out of work or temporarily incapacitated from losing their efficiency. How real a consideration this is to the master class is demonstrated by the case reported in the Press some time back, of a firm who, recommencing operations after a period of inaction, had to feed their men for a week before they were physically capable of starting work.

Now the sick worker will receive ten shillings a week for a few weeks, and medical attendance. From the point of view of maintenance this sum is laughable. But it is not intended to afford maintenance. It is intended to satisfy the landlord and prevent the break-up of the home during temporary sickness—for the wily capitalist understands the value of discipline in the factory, and he knows that when a workman's home has been broken up there is little likelihood of him ever being amenable to discipline again. But the maintenance of the family still devolves upon the wife, who must beg and borrow, and run tick with the baker and the grocer, heaping up debt that will take many a month of pinching when work is resumed to clear off.

But the chances are the working days of the man whose illness outruns thirteen weeks are over. There is nothing to be gained by keeping his home together. However, it is still worth while to offer him five shillings a week to keep off the rates. How many workmen, if they were incapacitated, would be able to draw this weekly dole? How many would find it, even with the greatest care and the most complete submission to privation, sufficient to enable them to remain outside the four walls of the workhouse?

It is not for us to make a great to-do about the insufficiency of the amounts to be paid, since we maintain that there are economic laws inseparable from the social system, which broadly determine what the return to Labour shall be, and hence, in the long run, it can matter nothing to the workers upon what scale the payment of benefits is fixed. We know that the scale will never be fixed so high that the whip of hunger which drives the workers into the labour-market is removed, for that would break down the social system completely. And anything less than this, anything, that is, which does not completely overthrow the competitive conditions of the labour-market, will soon be adjusted by those conditions, to the point of greatest advantage to the master class.

This does not necessarily mean that the working class will be worse fed, worse housed, or worse clothed than before. It does not even necessarily mean that they will be as badly fed, housed, and clothed. It does mean, however, that the degree of their exploitation will be increased, and the total bulk of their misery (which is not entirely a matter of food, housing, and clothing) will be added to.

This capitalist Cabinet is in a manner the brain centre of the capitalist class. All the vague hopes and longings of the master class therein take definite shape. Without any deep economic knowledge these men realise that if more is to be got out of the workers more must be put into them—just as if you want to get more power from a steam engine you must put more fuel in the furnace. From this point it becomes an easy, natural, and perhaps unconscious step to raise the idea to an ethic, nor does it follow that any conscious hypocrisy accompanies the process, any more than it accompanied the change of ethical outlook of the savage when economic development made cannibalism "immoral." Our views are so much the product of our economic interests that it is only to be expected that when the capitalist mind becomes impressed with the fact that, before the industrial machinery can be screwed up any further they must make the working class physically able to stand the strain, the raising of the standard of subsistence of the wage-earners will take on the "dim, religious light" of an instruction from heaven. They believe in it as an ethic, and the tears they water it with may be none the less scalding because it happens that, "from the em-

ployers' standpoint these laws pay." That is merely a pleasurable incident illustrating the verity that "God blesses those who obey his will," and proving that the raising of the workers' standard of living is God's will. So they pray for guidance and for heart of grace, and for strength and courage to fight the battle of the working class, of course. And perhaps they do it without praying, like the good, honest "heathen" lovers of justice they are.

That is the answer to the Labour Party's claim that they have forced the measure into existence, the explanation of the fact that, as they put it, "measures which ten years ago were laughed at are now being introduced by the capitalist parties." It is not at all that the Labour Party is the driving force; it is not that the ideas of Socialism are spreading and either compelling or inducing the master class to take action. Those who deny the class struggle, who assert that so far as it is from being a fact that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself, that both the working class and the capitalist class will advance together to the regeneration of society—those people may affect to find some substantiation of their assertion in such measures as this. But the true explanation is that the needs of capitalism are ever changing.

Ten years ago capitalism required a large unemployed army, but now, with the greater pressure and the growing tendency to set men to race each other and the clock, discharging the slowest, no matter how fast they work, a larger unemployed reserve is necessary. It is necessary because the pace breaks so many down, and there must be many to choose from. It is necessary because the conditions under hustling, bullying gangsters—who must bully or face starvation—become so appalling that only an enormous army of workless clamouring at the factory gates can keep those at work in the proper spirit of submission. It is necessary because the fluctuations in industrial activity grow larger and sharper year by year, making it imperative to have a greater reserve of labour to draw upon.

And not only must this unemployed army be greater—it must be kept in higher physical condition. With the development of industry individualism in machinery tends to give way to systems of machinery. As the speed increases the organisation develops, and the whole fabric of the factory becomes more closely knitted into a solid whole. Every machine, every worker, becomes more and more an interdependent part of a huge structure. What the structure gains in strength it loses in elasticity. The one part must wait for the other. So, just as a chain's strength is that of its weakest link, a factory's speed becomes that of its slowest unit.

Therefore, when one slow or exhausted wage-slave is discharged, a physically better man is wanted to fill his place. Hence something must be done to keep up the physical condition of the unemployed, who, since they are necessary to the master class, must just as necessarily be fit material for their purpose.

The present inadequacy of the amounts to be provided, in the case of both sickness and unemployment, does not affect the argument. It simply means that we may expect the amounts to be increased as the capitalist mind becomes more familiar with the gain in efficiency that results from the expenditure. A certain amount of misgiving always accompanies the first casting of one's bread upon the waters, but when it is seen to be returned sevenfold, the operation is repeated in a free handed manner.

Anyway, the Labour Party have something left to spend their revolutionary (!) ardour upon, and we may expect them to win another "great victory for the working class"—somewhere about the time that industrial development convinces the capitalists that their interests demand a further step in the direction of providing for the unemployed and the sick.

Meanwhile it may be pointed out that this increased efficiency which the capitalist government so candidly confesses to actuate it in proposing this measure, can only be entirely inimical to the workers, since it must increase the difference between the amount of wealth they produce and that which they consume, thus visiting upon them, not only harder labour, but more unemployment as well. This statement is incontrovertible, and when it is realised it exposes the latest sop for the futility it is.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE SHOP-ASSISTANT.

A CASE engaging public attention recently, illustrated very vividly the perils and pitfalls awaiting those who turn to the serving art for a livelihood. Many years back that master of realism, Emile Zola, in his "Ladies' Paradise," pointed out the awful plight of those brought into the great cities by the octopus-like departmental stores. He drew a terribly true picture of the road these poor girls travel once they are in the clutches of the "masters of life." The meagre "salary"—most of which must be spent on "respectable" attire; the barrack-buildings in which the slaves of the counter are herded together; the demoralising conditions under which they work: all this, coupled with the ever-haunting fear of unemployment far from their home, makes the lot of the black-clothed proletariat equally as bad as that of the rest of their class.

The present case especially gives prominence to the sinister side of the shop-workers' position. It clearly shows that those who own the means of life use their economic advantage to

PRESS THEIR LUSTFUL ADVANCES

upon the daughters of the toilers. Further, the microscopic remuneration of the workers drives them too often to supplement their earnings by means that are palpable and well known. It is not a matter for surprise that some forsake shop life altogether for the path of "easy virtue," because the latter is at any rate free from the torture and semi-starvation associated with the toiler's weary round. They prefer "a short life and a merry one" to an existence whose long-drawn-out sufferings oft make its victims pine for the silence of the grave. The female assistant, at all events, knows that when the bloom of youth vanishes and the sprightliness of adolescence wanes, she is no longer wanted. A further "supply" can be obtained, for "flesh and blood are cheap to day." Sometimes the assistant sees escape in the "capture" of a husband, or perhaps a "patron" as an alternative!

Many are the ills of the "counter-jumper," but "living-in" has been a burning question for years past, though the number of firms who now adopt the system is fewer than ever and is still declining.

The "living-in" system has changed greatly since the days when the small shop or warehouse alone had the field. It often meant then eating and drinking the same food at the same table as their employers, and it was no strange thing to be treated almost

AS ONE OF THE FAMILY.

The position of shop assistant was frequently regarded as a desirable haven of refuge from the monotony and idiosyncrasy of rural life. With the decline in economic importance of the small shop, the "living-in" system has undergone vast alteration. The boarding and lodging of assistants has come to be treated as a purely commercial affair. It means bad and insufficient food, overcrowded apartments, and very low pay.

"Living-in" is going owing to the heavy rents that suitable premises in busy areas now involve making it unprofitable. The great emporiums such as Selfridge's, the new Arding and Hobbs, and the new Whiteley's, all favour the "outdoor" method now. Commercial development and the more economical working of business have caused this, not the "energies" of trade union leaders. There is, also, a great deal of kudos to be gained by a firm booming the fact that it has given up the "living-in" system—in the workers' interest, of course.

But whether the "in" rule or the "out" be adopted, depend upon it, the same

MERCELESS, PROFIT-GRINDING EXPLOITATION

runs through it all. How callous and indifferent to the interest of their employees, as such, the capitalists are, was demonstrated at the Brixton fire a short time ago, when two assistants lost their lives for want of proper means of escape being provided.

The desire to save expense and the attempt to cover the cost of any by getting more out of the employees, remains, whether the toilers live in or out. They have to deal with the same profit-hunting masters, who get their pound of flesh,

whatever changes may be made in the method of getting it.

The black prospect of the assistants tends to make many of them bitterly resent the idea of a lifetime serving masters under such conditions, and they look forward to the day when they can start "on their own." Dreamers of dreams! The hope had some real meaning in the "old days," but now it is a mockery.

Industry has progressed so greatly since that it has had a profound influence upon the commercial methods of our time. The rise of the limited liability company has made possible the great emporiums and stores whose all-embracing character has

STRUCK TERROR INTO THE HEART

of the "small man." The competition of the "world's providers" has spelt imminent bankruptcy to him, and hastened his journey to Carey Street. The tremendous buying power, the more attractive display, the greater variety of goods, and the frequent sales—these are the weapons used so fatally against the struggling rivals. Hence we see the little chance that is offered the assistants to climb into the ranks of the employers. Very few of them really understand the trend of the economic forces which are causing havoc all around them. But the enormous power exercised by the large employers, the concentration of control of trade into fewer hands, and the frequency of unemployment, led to a number of assistants combining, and thus in 1891 the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants was formed. Twenty years' existence has given the organisation a membership of 21,000 out of the million persons engaged in the work of distribution who are eligible to join. The "union" largely imitates a

SICK-BENEFIT PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION

in its working, and its stupendous value to assistants may be gleaned from the 1909 Annual Report, which tells us that while £372 were spent on trade disputes during the year, over £11,000 went to management expenses in that period. The poor, jaded shop-workers contribute their hard-earned silver to provide fine, soft jobs for officials. They financially supported their Parliamentary "representative," Mr. J. A. Seddon, what time he was engaged in booming the Dreadnought—providing Budget of the Liberal Party. It was a deplorable thing to see a shop-assistants' Member shouting for the taxation of land values, helping the agitation of large, slave-driving drapers, who talk of the villainy of ground landlords and the burden of their rents!

For upwards of fifteen years the union has been talking about getting a 60-hour Bill passed, and in 1896 Sir Charles Dilke introduced a Bill into the House of Commons. This was shelved, and each succeeding year has witnessed its fruitless re-appearance. In May 1908 the bill was again brought forward, but was dropped on the promise of the Government to bring in a measure themselves. It was mentioned in the King's Speech in February 1909, and in August the long awaited "charter" was ushered in by Lord Gladstone. But the measure did not suit the Labour-loving Liberal Party, and this year it once more comes on the scene, or, rather, a modified measure (the Shops' Bill No. 2) does instead.

The union leaders pride themselves upon its entry into the

ARENA OF "PRACTICAL POLITICS,"

and they boast that their "activities" have been rewarded. How little the union has mattered may be gathered from the fact that only 2 per cent. of the shop assistants are enrolled in its ranks.

Many large firms favour the Bill because it gives them a lever to use against the small ones. The small shops in these fateful times keep open all hours lest they lose custom—the slightest dwindling of which they keenly feel. The reduction of hours may harm them while the large concerns can look smilingly on and effect economies in their business to nullify any inroads the Bill may threaten.

While the No. 1 Bill made a weekly holiday compulsory, the present Bill makes it depend upon "local option" for its operation. The shop-keepers of a district are themselves to decide by a majority vote whether it shall apply

to their locality. Originally the Bill provided for the closing of shops at least three nights a week by 8 o'clock, but upon employers protesting the number was reduced to two. Exclusive of meal-times the Bill claims to fix a 60-hour maximum, but its clauses actually allow at least 62 hours for those who get a fortnight's holiday during the year.

In their Manifesto the union state that "Two years ago the Government were moved to send a Commission to the Colonies to secure evidence on the working of shop legislation in Britain beyond the Seas, and the report shows that shop assistants, employers, and the general public were

ALL BENEFITED BY STATE REGULATION."

Moving the second reading in the House of Commons on March 31st, Mr. Masterman said: "The Bill had considerable support from shopkeepers and shop assistants. The main principles of the Bill had been framed to help retail traders to help themselves." The assistants' spokesman in the House (Mr. G. H. Roberts) during the debate pointed out that "In New Zealand a similar measure to that before the House had been of great benefit, not only to the shopkeepers concerned, but also to the shopkeepers. He had recently read the correspondence which had passed between Mr. J. A. Seddon and some of the largest firms in New Zealand; this had been supplemented by the evidence of a member of the New Zealand Cabinet, and all strongly registered the opinion that a blot on their Act was the failure to exact the compulsory closing of shops and the weekly half-holiday. He had found in England the apprehension existed in the minds of small shopkeepers that the large establishments would be able to compete unfairly with them because they employed larger staffs and could adjust their hours accordingly. He felt that the New Zealand experience and the action of large trading organisations in this country gave force to the contention that they ought to restore in the present measure the provisions of the previous bill exacting compulsory closing of shops and a compulsory half holiday."

The foregoing extracts pointing to the acceptability of the measure to employers and the favourable (to the masters) working of similar measures in the Colonies, should convince every assistant of the

FRAUDULENCE OF THE "GREAT" CHARTER.

It must be plain to him that if these measures benefit employers and draw their support, they cannot help him, because the interest of employers is to extract profit from the workers, and the workers' interest is to stop them. Surely the experience gained in the disputes over tiny increases in salary should be sufficient evidence of the contrast in material interests. That the Bill emanates from the Liberal Government should be a sign of its tainted source. The Liberal party is composed of employers and their henchmen. Did not Lloyd George tell us (Swansea, Oct. 1, 1908) that "the richest men in the House of Commons sat upon the Liberal side"?

Even if the measure had a vestige of benefit for the working class about it, remember it depends upon the capitalist administration for its working. The Liberal party see to it that they have a formidable second line of defence against us by appointing blatantly reactionary "justices" to see that the laws are interpreted in the interest of the capitalist class.

To give an instance of the value of capitalist laws, the Shops' Act of 1904 laid it down that seats for assistants must be provided behind the counter. The ornamental purpose of these was shown by the same speech of G. H. Roberts, when he said that they had "received many complaints that although seats had been provided, assistants had been subject to such restrictions that they had been practically useless."

Trade Unionism, though it may act as a temporary brake upon the downward trend of wages, is futile to change the conditions under which the workers live. The strongest unions, such as the miners of South Wales, have

GONE DOWN

in face of the strength of capitalism's combined forces on the economic field. The Miners' is practically an industrial union, as it embraces widely different branches of the industry, yet it

cannot improve permanently the state of the toilers. No, not even Socialist unionism can alter the material position of the workers while the means of life are owned by a few. The road for the toilers to travel has long been pointed out by the S.P.G.B., and that is to get control of the political machine and so dislodge our masters from their citadel.

The assistant's duty is to direct his energies to ending this system and instituting one where the absentee shareholder does not find a place; a system where those who produce wealth shall use it, and where the useless toil of the greater number of "counter jumpers" will be no more but all shall perform their share of the necessary labour of the Commonwealth.

Shops' Acts and any legislation will be of value to the working class under capitalism in so far as the organised revolutionary toilers can make their existence feared by those who rule. To-day, unfortunately, we are weak in number, but to-morrow we can be strong. Will you help us?

A. KOHN.

"INDEPENDENCE" AND SENTIMENT.

The leaders of the Independent Labour Party have assuredly found the right way to deal with any of their followers who attempt to kick over the traces. Understanding the sentimentalism with which the I.L.P. is pervaded, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Keir Hardie & Co. are able, by working upon this feeling, to sway any assembly of I.L.P.-ers in which they find themselves to practically whatever position they desire. An illustration of the success of this manoeuvre can be seen in reading the report of the recent I.L.P. conference at Birmingham. The whole tone of the meeting was such as would have been more applicable to a dormitory of love-sick young ladies than to an assembly of Members of Parliament and self-styled economists and politicians. During the debate following the report of the I.L.P. Members of Parliament there were several outbreaks on the part of certain members of the rank and file. Even Lansbury—with an eye, possibly, to the future chairmanship of the Labour Party—made several rather unkind remarks.

P. S. Stewart started the ball by pointing out to the assembled delegates that in the division on the Right to Work amendment to the address on the King's Speech, only a little more than 20 Labour Members had voted. He went on further to protest against neglect of Parliamentary duties by members who left Westminster to fulfil 15 week-end engagements.

F. W. Jowett reminded those present how in 1909 the Labour Party decided to move a reduction of the tea tax, but at the last moment refrained from voting when it was seen that there was a danger of defeating the Government; pointing out that this policy of waiting upon the Liberal party was still adhered to by the Labour Party as a whole.

Lansbury in his speech told the delegates that when the question of the Welsh colliers was raised in Parliament, only 17 Labour men went into the lobby for fear of endangering the Government.

R. C. Wallhead "was not satisfied with the Labour Party, and there were certain Labour Members he would like to see out of the House."

The impression forced upon one by reading the report is that the I.L.P. members in Parliament are quite content to acquiesce in the coalition between the Labour Party and the Liberals. The admission was made by J. R. MacDonald that Labour Members are in the habit of appearing on Liberal platforms. Keir Hardie told those present that many Labour Members felt they were bound to be the friends of the Government, and give a general backing to those who had given them so much—the "so much" including the "super-tax of 6d. in the £ on big incomes, important land taxes, and the valuation of land, and Old-Age Pensions."

He went on to say that "The Government's programme for this session contained an Osborne Bill, a Mines Bill, the Shop Assistants' Bill, an Insurance Scheme against Unemployment and invalidity, which were all the outcome of I.L.P. propaganda. The Tories would fight these measures tooth and nail, and therefore there was bound to be a more kindly feeling towards the party that was going part of our way than to-

wards those who were fighting us every inch of the way." This in spite of the fact that he had complained just previously that the Labour Party thought too much in terms of Liberalism, and his remark that he feared the Liberals with their Social Reform much more than the Tories.

The debate ended in moonshine. The "metaphysical and philosophical" speech of MacDonald, the "heart to heart" talk of Lansbury, the earnest, touching, passionate, eloquent (adjectives fail) peroration of Keir Hardie, apparently reduced the assembled delegates to a state of speechlessness. At any rate, the whole matter dropped. The I.L.P. members in Parliament will go on in the old sweet way, pandering to the Liberals, speaking from Liberal platforms, fulfilling week-end engagements at £5 per time, joining committees in connection with the forthcoming Coronation festivities, writing well-paid articles for the capitalist Press. And through it all they will protest against their claim to independence being in the slightest degree impugned. Moreover, the pity of it is that thousands of the members of the working class still believe in their specious promises and the sentimental cant in which they delight to indulge. The Socialist Party has truly much work in front of it, not only in combating the avowed capitalist parties, but still more in fighting such parties as the I.L.P., which, under the guise of Socialism, is endeavouring to lead the workers into a more degraded and more servile condition of life than even the one in which they now find themselves.

F. J. WEBB.

MECHANICAL LOYALTY.

An English nobleman once tried to train a mule to box scientifically with its hind hoofs. The verdict was "Death from very natural causes."

When the capitalists created a cheap gutter Press they little suspected it would contribute to their undoing. Yet the rags continually, if unconsciously, deal murderous blows at the system they were intended to strengthen.

Just an instance:

That the Queen rehearses her train-bearers may be good reading, but it scarcely conduces to popular acceptance of her inherent grace. Snapshots of the State horses being injured to cheering, firing, and flag-waving seems calculated to take the gilt off the ginger-bread—or even off the State coach.

The people should be given to understand that all things royal are spontaneously dignified. Else what price a circus parade?

But the cruellest Press photos were those of the elephants learning to kneel, the dromedary and pony learning to bow. Not so would the show have been given away in the past. Our forefathers believed that the very animals recognised and did homage to anointed majesty.

Coronation—hungry children—Church and armed forces—full pubs—full gaols. What a hotch-potch! Also enthusiastic obedience from well-trained quadrupeds and well-drilled humans.

And the royal nonentities will carry on as if they swallowed it all. Poor henpecked George will try not to look thirsty, while his grim-faced consort conveniently forgets that she married him after his brother (her first betrothed) died, selling her body for a crown as surely as some of her less fortunate sisters sell theirs for five shillings.

A. HOSKINS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

SWANK.

The gullibility of the worker is proverbial. The amount of arrant nonsense talked by the members of the capitalist class is sufficient proof of the point, as it is also of the fact that the masters recognise their credulity, and are prepared to trade upon it. Any measure they may frame, any reform or rearrangement of their business they may propose, is always brought forward from some entirely disinterested motive, and is "solely in the interest of the working classes."

Of course.
"Mr. W. Albright, who has recently visited Lisbon in company with Mr. W. Cadbury in connection with the labour system obtaining in Angola, sends particulars of an experiment in free labour carried out by Senhor Fernando Reis. This gentleman, who is a member of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery League, inherited last year his father's estate in Angola, which was manned by 100 slaves. He immediately set them free, substituting voluntary paid labour, which his experience shows to be at least 40% cheaper."

The above extract from the "Daily News" is an instance of the motive behind the action of the good capitalists. These benevolent gentlemen are always ready to relieve the suffering and distress of the down-trodden slave providing that a profit can be made out of the transaction.

Brother Cadbury himself is an excellent example of the cute employer who will provide "comfortable" conditions for his employees up to the point where no advantage can be obtained, and then his benevolence suddenly vanishes. Good conditions in the English factory means greater productivity and a consequent increase in profit. "Garden cities" are a big advertisement, and mean augmented sales, therefore Brother Cadbury is a philanthropist. When similar methods in the plantations bring similar results then Cadbury will be in the van urging their adoption. Until that time raw cocoa can be produced by slave-labour.

Free labour is as necessary to the full development of capitalism as arduous poverty and prostitution, and men like Cadbury are keen enough to see and act upon anything that is likely to increase business. A writer in the "Daily Chronicle" says: "Slavery lingered in the Scottish mines until the very eve of the 19th century. Mr. Hackwood, in 'Good Old Times,' draws a picture of the Scottish miner's unhappy lot in the past. 'From about 1445 to 1775 the miners of Scotland were bought and sold with the soil. It is stated in old chronicles that bloodhounds were kept to trace them if they left their employment, and to aid in bringing them back.' It was 1799 ere the last law gave the working miner his complete freedom."

To read of the conditions prevailing in the mines at the time of the Whitehaven and Hulton "accidents" and then to talk of the miner receiving "his complete freedom" is typical of the cause for which such scribble is written. Yet the majority of the workers will swallow it and thank Gawd that there are no slaves in England!

Conditions have changed since 1775, and the boss does not need to incur the expense of keeping bloodhounds to look for workmen. He drops a post-card (no stamp required) to the nearest labour exchange, his wants are made known to other exchanges, and hundreds of "free" men fall over each other in their haste to become slaves.

The master has recognised that starvation is a more powerful weapon than a bloodhound, consequently we are "free."

So apparent is the benefit to be derived from "benevolence" that scores of capitalists are following in Cadbury's footsteps and endeavouring to keep up dividends by "sharing" profits, etc.

Mr. John Taylor, presiding at the general meeting of Messrs. Mather and Platt (engineers), said:

"The traditional interest of the firm in the workpeople has been continued, . . . for these facilities no charge is made, and your directors are incurring this expense because they believe that to treat our workers humanely and place them in good and healthy surroundings is conducive to good work, and that from a purely business point of view it pays to do so."

How the shareholders must have swelled their chests and patted themselves on the back (metaphorically, of course) and thought what good fellows they were!

Pay? Why, certainly. The brotherhood are in business for profit, and precious little do they touch unless a substantial surplus is derived. But some of the brethren are so dense. They want to see the advantage before they enter the business, and in order to enable them to do so it has to be made plain at times, even though the workers hear and maybe understand.

As instance that great pension scheme. The stodgy dullheads roared at the "Socialistic" legislation of the Government until the reverse of the medal was shown them, and they could only be prevailed upon to keep quiet when the rate-saving capacity of the measure was made plain to them.

So also with the present insurance proposals. The fact that the workers are to be swindled is so obvious that the outcry against the measure is less noisy. Mr. Lloyd George, doubtless to allay the fears of the employers, made the matter fairly clear in an interview with a representative of the "Morning Leader." He said: "I know they [the employers] will have to pay and I cannot be surprised if some of them feel it, but I put it to them that they will get back every penny in increased efficiency and security of their workmen."

Lord Furness, one of the most astute of the gang, after stating that the firm he represents will have to pay £8,000 a year, goes on to say: "When we examine the benefits, both direct and indirect, which will accrue to the manufacturers, . . . I feel convinced that the advantages will far outweigh the employers' annual contribution."

At the onset some employers will object, but the plain facts are too obvious to be missed. To again quote Lloyd George: "In Germany the employers began by opposing Bismarck's insurance schemes, and were at first generally against them, but now they are completely converted and entirely in favour of insurance. In fact they are offering larger contributions in order to place the whole scheme on a sounder basis." And this is the greatest of all the great schemes of the most "democratic" Government of modern times!

In certain trades the unemployed are to receive the magnificent sum of 6s. or 7s. weekly for 15 weeks providing they were not sacked "by their own fault," or are not on strike or locked out.

And then Mr. J. R. MacDonald "hopes that every trade union in the country will place itself unreservedly at the disposal of Mr. Lloyd George."—"Morning Leader," 6.5.11.

Ramsay need not fear. The unions, bossed as they are by capitalist henchmen, will do as Ramsay has done.

While the workers remain politically ignorant they will continue to place themselves in the hands of their enemies, and will be continually deceived. When they realise their power in society, and see things in their true light, then, and only then, will the bosses cease from swanking and the workers be at rest. For swank will not be sufficient for a wide awake working class, who, instead of cheering for a measure that gives them nothing, will see to it that they receive the full reward of their labour.

TWEL.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. A. BOSTOCK—Forest Gate.—Next month.
G. T. HACKNEY.—We hope to publish an article on the subject shortly.

F. SUTHERLAND—Queensland.—We do not know of a work covering the ground you mention. The following are the best books on the market at present:—

E. R. A. SELIGMAN.—The Economic Interpretation of History. (The MacMillan Co., 6s. 6d.)

ANTONIO LABRIOLA.—Lessons in the Materialist Conception of History. (Kerr, Chicago, 1 dol.)
KARL KAUTSKY.—Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History. (Kerr, 50 cents.)

A good application of the method to the institutions of antiquity will be found in Lewis Morgan's "Ancient Society." (Kerr, 1 dol. 50 cents.)

F. W. FRICK.—Bradley, the ancient States tell because they depended upon slave labour. We hope to have an article on the subject shortly.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

REPLY TO S. ROBINSON.

You have yet to supply evidence of the "spiteful nature of the S.P.G.B." Socialists cannot tolerate the actions of men who, under the guise of Socialism, support our avowed capitalist enemies. We still await a little proof that Blatchford is a "proved champion of the cause." Blatchford has pursued a consistently anti-Socialist path. Our chief need is to keep the issue (viz., Socialism) clearly before the working class. Anything that obscures it is opposed to the worker's early triumph. Blatchford has knowingly played the game of our masters when he called upon them to take up arms in defence of "the Empire." His support of Tariff Reform and almost every other nostrum of Toryism indicates the "cats-paw" nature of his service. "Britain for the British" and "Merrie England" are badly drawn up appeals for State Capitalism, Free Trade, and the traitorous Labour Party.

We (the workers) cannot defend "our country" as until Socialism comes it is "theirs" (the capitalists'). You ask "whether it is necessary to prevent this country being swallowed up by another power." But surely that has already transpired. It has been "swallowed up" by the capitalist class. That class is not a national but an international class. The slaughter of the toilers after the Paris Commune should be daylight evidence of that to you. We work for the capitalists in this country now, but we do not know in these days of limited liability concerns whether our particular exploiters are English, German, or Japanese. Great chemical works, and anthracite mines in Wales, are already owned by "German" capitalists entirely. Seeing that we are slaves whose chains are being ever more firmly fixed on us, it is hard to see where we have the "decidedly more freedom here than in Germany." Really, to be precise on one point, the military have been used far more frequently against the English workers in times of strikes than against German workers. Perhaps that is evidence that English toilers have more "freedom"—to starve.

You fail to grasp our view of the "alien question." The "alien" worker gets as much wages as he can. But, like the English worker in America, Australia, Canada, Hamburg, and Sweden, when faced with starvation he is bound to accept whatever offers. Now you must remember that in trades that "alien" workers scarcely touch poverty and unemployment are terribly rife. The Cradley Heath chainmakers, the London dockers, the South Wales colliers, all these are classic examples. Important factors you overlook are (1) the use of machinery and wage-saving devices by the capitalist class, with the consequence that competition in the workers' ranks is increased; (2) the increased use of women and children to swell profits.

Our masters are quite indifferent to "patriotic" motives. When they wanted more profit they got black workers in the British Chartered Company mines in Africa to replace white. Then they ousted blacks and replaced them with Chinese. When English workers strike, Blatchford's employers use the "hated" alien to break the strike if English workers are not sufficient.

What is Socialism like "in small doses"? If we are to educate the workers up to Socialism the preliminary work must be to clear their minds of all the pseudo-Socialist and capitalist nonsense that bars the way.

K.

ON THE SPOT.

It is amusing to find how near to the truth the capitalist Press gets at times.

Commenting upon the impending dissolution of the Standard Oil Trust, recently ordered by the highest Court in the United States, the "Weekly Budget" (21.5.11) says: "Throughout history economic forces have over ridden political restrictions as expressed in laws. It is more than improbable that so mighty a monster as the Standard Oil Company, complex of construction and far-reaching, can be crushed by mere judicial decisions."

Apply the argument to Socialism and you have the case as stated by the S.P.G.B.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.

(LONDON DISTRICT)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, East Park Gate	11.30 J. Nightman	A. Reginald	J. Fitzgerald	J. Holmes
" Prince's Head	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	H. Joy	J. Nightman
Clapham Common	3.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	H. Joy	F. Dawkins
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 A. W. Pearson	R. Fox	F. J. Rourke	A. Jacobs
Finbury Park	3.30 H. Martin	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 A. Pearson	F. J. Rourke	C. Parker	F. W. Stearn
Kennington, Brockwell Pk.	6.15 H. Cooper	F. Holmes	A. Reginald	J. Holmes
Kennington Triangle	11.30 F. J. Rourke	T. W. Allen	R. Fox	F. Dawkins
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 A. Reginald	F. W. Stearn	A. W. Pearson	R. Fox
" "	11.30 F. Leigh	H. Martin	F. Charles	J. Fitzgerald
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Hoskyns	F. Charles	E. Fairbrother	T. W. Allen
Parliament Hill	7.30 J. Holmes	A. Jacobs	F. Leigh	J. Nightman
Peckham Triangle	11.30 J. Holmes	E. Fairbrother	R. Fox	H. Cooper
Stoke Newington, Bally Rd., Dk. Stn.	7.30 A. Jacobs	R. Fox	F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson
Tooting Broadway	7.30 J. Holmes	H. Joy	F. Stearn	E. Fairbrother
" "	11.30 J. Kemble	J. Nightman	J. Holmes	H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson	A. Reginald	F. Leigh
" "	7.30 A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	H. Martin
Walthamstow, Church Hill	8.0 A. Hoskyns	F. J. Rourke	H. Martin	C. Parker
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	7.30 J. Nightman	H. Cooper	E. Fairbrother	J. Kemble
Watford Market Place	7.30 F. Charles	F. Leigh	J. Nightman	E. Fairbrother
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 C. Parker	J. Nightman	A. Hoskyns	F. J. Rourke
" "	7.30 H. Martin	T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson	R. Fox
Woolwich, Beresford Sq.	11.30 R. Fox	F. Dawkins	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30.]
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8.30. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BURNLEY.—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield-rd., Wandsworth. Branch meets Sats. 29 Thornsett-rd. at 8.0. Rooms open every evening.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.
GRAVESEND.—Communications to W. Wragg, Denton Hospital, Gravesend.
ISLINGTON.—S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road, Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd., Holloway, N.
LAMBETH.—H. Martin, Sec., 112, Gloucester Rd., Peckham, S.E. Branch meets Fridays, 8 p.m., at 38 Brixton-rd., S.W.
MANCHESTER.—T. McCarthy, Sec., 42, Gladden-st., Bradford-rd., Manchester. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street.
NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4, Balfour-rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sats. at 7.30 at Cobden House, Peachey-st.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec., 14 Great Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W., where Branch meets Thurs. at 8.30 p.m.
PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.
ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to branch Secretary, Head office, pro. tem.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—S. Quelch, Sec., 152, High-st., Shoreditch E.C. Branch meets Mon. at 8.15 at Lockharts, 2, Dalston Ln. (2nd floor).
THORNTON HEATH.—A. McIntyre, Sec., 29, Gilsland-rd., Thornton Heath.
TOOTING.—H. Wallis, Sec., 167, Longley Rd., Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Goringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.
TOTTENHAM.—F. Fyfe, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., T. Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—Communications to Sec., 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.
WATFORD.—P. Simons, Sec., 55, Church Road, Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—Communications to Secretary. Branch meets Mondays 7.30 at Boleyn Dining Room, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

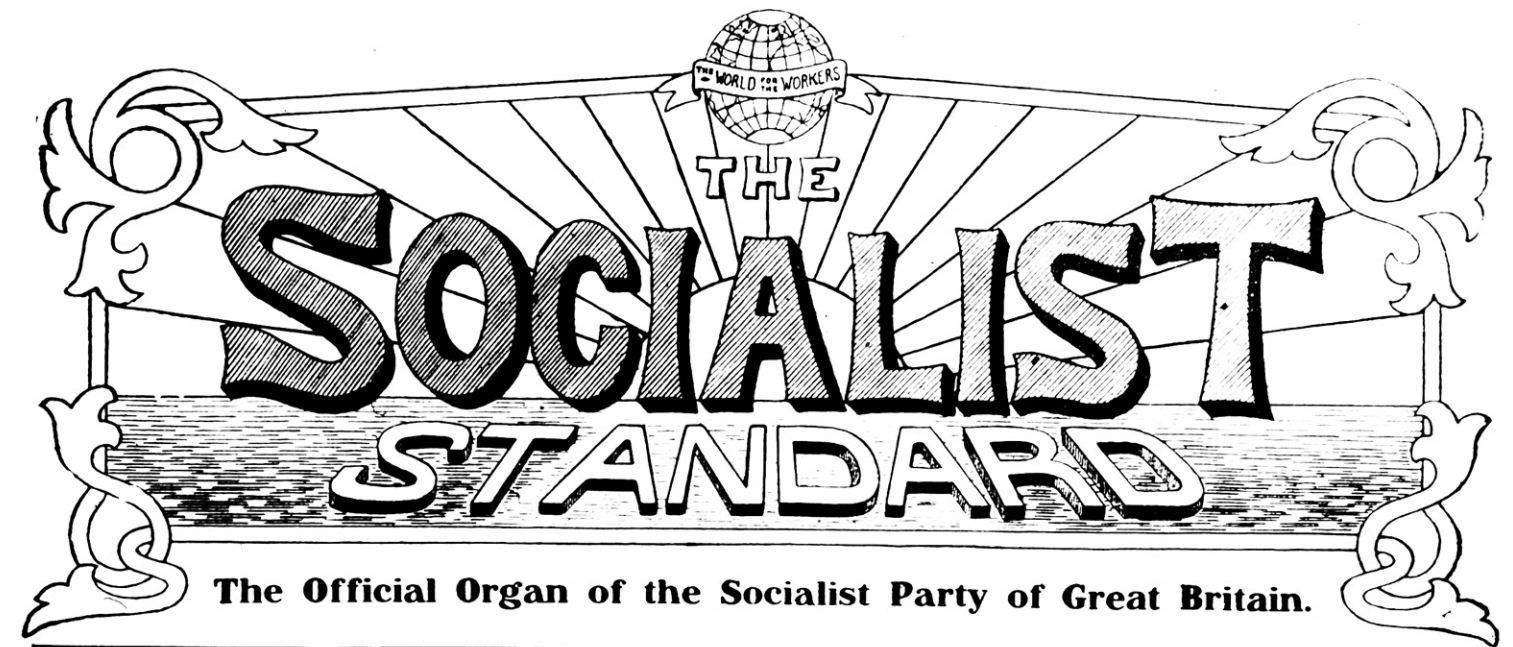
Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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LONDON, JULY 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SHOULD THE WORKERS OBEY THE LAW? THE WORKING CLASS VIEWPOINT.

A LAW-abiding citizen.

Those four words constitute the very highest eulogy that can be pronounced by capitalist lips.

A man may be a poltroon or a hero, a rogue or a fool, a Christian or an atheist, an abstainer or a sot, a prince or a porter, but the finale for all worthy men alike, at the end of the day's workless pleasure or pleasureless work, is this sententious approval—"He was a law-abiding citizen."

On all other matters appertaining to the conduct of other people capitalists may be divided. One is monarchist, another republican, a third a teetotal fanatic, and a fourth a devotee of the hop and the grape; and the convictions of each play their part in the appraisal of the merits of their fellow men; but, whether they fill it with wine or water, not one would refuse to drain a glass and turn it, empty, down, to the memory of "a law-abiding citizen."

But what is this fetish which is the highest pinnacle of capitalist ethic, the last word in capitalist morality? The Law! The Might and Majesty of the Law; the strong arm of the Law. Ah! that is the whole secret of it. The Law is all might, and majesty, and strong arm. Soldier and sailor, judge and jailor, policeman and prison and Jack Ketch! The Might and Majesty of the Law, indeed.

One would think that the Law, needing the support of such a vast machinery of coercion, must be a very uncomfortable and unpleasant thing to some people, and not that only, but antagonistic to an enormous number of the population. It must be so indeed. If Peace sits armed beneath her olive, she is armed against somebody.

And who is it that the Law is armed against? Perchance, reader, it is you and me.

It is a saying which continually assails our ears, that without Law there could be no Order. If this is true, if this is in the very nature of things human, then it is truly a sad case with that poor, miserable rag, "human nature," which it profits the prophets to tell us is fore-ordained to frustrate the Socialist ideal.

But it is not true. In spite of all that our "civilisation," and particularly our capitalist

The Law is a Class Instrument. "civilisation," has done for it, still "human nature" has not fallen so immeasurably below the wild beast standard that, in all circumstances, order can only exist under the wing of Law.

The common impression that all is disorder and insecurity in savage life is far from the truth. In point of fact all the might and majesty of the Law has never been able to secure the orderly existence that obtained among primitive savage people. Barbarities there may be, connected with superstitious rites, but anarchy has never

found a place among the savage races of the communistic stage. The reason is obvious—the interest of one is the interest of all.

Disorder creeps in with the rise of a ruling class, and Law slinks at its heels. A ruling class is always more or less parasitic. It raises itself upon the class it rules, making the latter toil and moil for it. In other words, it is a robber class.

Now if there is one trait inherent in "human nature" it is this: a rooted objection to being robbed. That process never fails, as far as the victim is conscious of it, to arouse the spleen of him whom it is practised upon. Hence a coercive force becomes necessary—not to the subject class, but to the ruling class.

This coercive force exists to conserve the social system under which, and the institutions by which, the dominant class practice their robbery. At first coercion is open, lawless force, for no cunningly devised cloak can obscure the antagonism of interests between the chattel-slave and his master. But as society grows more complex, as the ruling class finds itself threatened by other classes rising from below, as the rulers in society become relatively fewer and, finally, as they are compelled more and more to rely on the subject classes to become their own suppressors, the necessity develops of substituting laws to be maintained for people to be suppressed.

But whether the big ones of the earth make laws for the suppression of people, and maintain those laws by force, or they suppress the people without troubling about laws, is in essence the same thing—suppression. Only the method is different.

From the earliest rising of the "State," class rule has been based upon private property, so Law, at the bottom, has always had a private-property basis. This explains how it happens that the Law of ancient Rome has served for the foundation of the Law of every modern State. Roman Law was projected to maintain the ascendancy of a propertied class. After all these centuries, though new classes have risen and died away and social systems have changed, still Law has no other function than to support a propertied class against the expropriated.

Law, then, is nothing but a class instrument—a weapon of the capitalist State for its own preservation. It is necessary to the capitalist State because the ruling class in capitalism have laid their hands upon the means of life and enslaved the people. The strong arm of the Law, soldier and sailor, judge and jailor, policeman and prison and Jack Ketch, is significant of the class struggle and class antagonism set up by that seizure of the means of life.

When the worker understands this his attitude toward the Law will be determined accord-

ingly. As he perceives it to be antagonistic to him, so he will become antagonistic to it—as, with increasing class-consciousness, he must to every instrument of the capitalist State. However much he may be made to fear the Law, the proletariat will no longer respect it. He will come to regard it in its true light, as the enemy, not the friend, of the working class; as the necessary adjunct of class rule, by means of which alone the producers of all wealth can be robbed and murdered and debauched, with some sort of one-sided orderliness, by a class of idle, drunken parasites, steeped to the neck in moral turpitude, sunk to the eye-brows in abomination which even the hardened Law dares find no name for.

That superstitious awe which, quite apart from the fear of policeman and prison and Jack Ketch, surrounds the Majesty of the Law, will dissipate, and no longer will the worker "blush for shame" at being caught in the act of law-breaking. On the other hand, such episodes as the "Houndsditch affair" and "Sidney Street" will assume a different aspect. It will be seen that, instead of the police laying down their lives for any high principle, they have died to secure against the depredations of desperate members of the working class, the wealth stolen from their fellows with outrage and violence infinitely more villainous than ever these so-called Anarchists resort to, as the ghastly murders of Whitechapel and Westhoughton transcend in callous brutality those of Houndsditch.

Great as the revolutionary's satisfaction must be to observe the breaking down and extinction of this reverence for the Law that is equivalent to so many thousands of extra policemen to the capitalist class, such satisfaction does not arise solely from the fact of the increasing difficulties of our expropriators and spoilers, but from the recognition of the larger fact that, as successive lessons such as that now being wrought out in connection with the strike at Hull, teach the workers how the Law is always on the side of the masters, how completely it is in their hands, they will be driven to enquire what the Might and Majesty of the Law really means.

This spirit of enquiry will be the herald of the dawn. They will perceive then that this mass of legality which the men call Law, is simply the stalking horse of oppression, the verbal garment of brute force. They will realise that it is this brute force alone which maintains the murders of Whitechapel and Bolton of Belfast and Tenpenny, in power, by maintaining their control of the means of life. The workers' course will then be very clear. They will set their faces toward the capture of all this coercive force by organised struggle.

The Workers' Course. They will perceive then that this mass of legality which the men call Law, is simply the stalking horse of oppression, the verbal garment of brute force. They will realise that it is this brute force alone which maintains the murders of Whitechapel and Bolton of Belfast and Tenpenny, in power, by maintaining their control of the means of life. The workers' course will then be very clear. They will set their faces toward the capture of all this coercive force by organised struggle.

on the political field. When they have succeeded in capturing political power they have, by the very fact of so doing, proclaimed at once their strength and their capacity. Their strength to wield the armed forces to the revolutionary purpose, since they will have captured the instruments by which it is wielded. Their capacity to organise themselves as a productive community, since they will already have organised themselves for the infinitely more difficult task of their own emancipation.

The first fact in itself would undermine the military strength of the capitalist class, for the working-class soldiery armed in the capitalist interest, realising the political strength of their own class, and inevitably sharing in the advanced proletarian class-consciousness, would be encouraged to follow their class interest just as the French regulars, under the much less favourable circumstances of the Paris Commune, sided with the workers when they thought them strong, and against them when they thought them weak.

Let the workers, therefore, regard the Law and its machinery from their own standpoint—as an instrument of their oppression, and organise themselves into a political party in order to capture it, and use it in the final act of all law, the glorious crowning fruition of the last and bitterest of all class struggles—their own emancipation from slavery.

A. E. JACOMB.

ECONOMIC LAWS IN OPERATION.

"Economic laws are as exacting as any other laws, and if violated they enforced penalties."

So said Mr. Meredith Whittaker at the conference between masters and men during the printers' strike, over which he presided last January.

The forty-eight hour week proposal was, of course, the main subject discussed. The men's argument was that a reduction of hours must of necessity lessen unemployment, but Mr. Whittaker took quite another view. By the process of, as he termed it, "dipping into" official figures on the subject, he appeared to give incontrovertible proof that the reduction of printers' hours in the past had hardly effected such a highly desirable result.

"We contest the assertion," Mr. Whittaker said, "that the shortening of hours reduces the number of unemployed. You secured in 1901 a reduction of 1½ hours per week, nearly 3 per cent. on the average; and you sought this largely—you pressed for it—because you said you would solve the unemployment question within your own area or your own society. You got a reduction of hours equivalent to 3 per cent. If the same amount of work had been done it would have necessitated the employment of 3 per cent. more of your members. What was the effect? The average unemployment in the London Society of Compositors for the five years before 1901 was 2.8 per cent. You were going to wipe that out and have no unemployment in view. You got a reduction in hours, but the panacea did not cure the complaint. It was the wrong medicine. The average for unemployment for the five years after 1901 was 4.4 per cent. When you were working 54 hours your unemployment was 2.58 per cent. The hours were reduced to 52½, and your unemployment per centage leaped up to 4.4."

The above is an extract from "The Organiser," issued in May last. The opening statement should be borne in mind by the working class when they are extorted by their leaders to chase airy nothings in the shape of eight hours bills and other capitalist reforms as a remedy for unemployment.

Whenever a reduction of hours takes place either by or against the will of the masters, economic laws sooner or later assert themselves, and the workers are no better off than before. The shortened working time is amply compensated for by the introduction of more efficient machinery and a general all round "hustle." Mr. Whittaker said that unemployment is a national question. We go farther and say it is international, for wherever the modern industrial system holds sway unemployment exists, and

the average condition of the workers of all nations is the same, i.e., they work hard and are poor.

So we have it in plain language from a representative of the master class, that "palliatives" do not tend to abolish unemployment in the least—naturally he did not attempt to show that there could be a remedy.

We Socialists point out the fact that unemployment is inherent in capitalist society, and can only be abolished by abolishing the system of society which gives rise to it. To this end, in spite of the seeming tallness of the order, the working class must organise themselves into a political party conscious of their interest at all times. Then, and then only, will any progress be made. The nucleus of this great party, we say, is the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and if you are class-conscious, join it now.

A. J. G.

SUGAR TRUST SAINTS.

The materialist basis of Smythe-Piggott's "Abode of Love" was demonstrated by the fact that the Spaxtonites were large shareholders in the VV Bread Co. Now the following from the "Daily Chronicle," June 28, shows the "alliance" between the Latter Day Saints and the Sugar Trust. How happy the trust employees must be to know that their "saintly" employers use the proceeds of their exploitation to provide "Turkish delight" for the elders of the Mormon Church!

"Testimony given by Joseph Smith, the head of the Mormon Church, before the committee of the House of Representatives investigating the methods of the Sugar Trust to day, showed how converts were made chiefly through the use by the Latter Day Saints of their enormous profits on their Sugar Trust securities.

"He explained that the beetroot industry, with its sugar products, was a leading industry of Utah, and that owing to the fact that refineries in the west were making beetroot sugar cheaper than the cane sugar of the trust, an 'alliance' was made between the Mormon Church and the American Sugar Refining Company.

"The Mormons showed themselves as cunning as the heads of the trust, and instead of the latter buying out the Mormons to their exclusion, Mr. Smith testified that the Latter Day Saints were the heaviest holders of Sugar Trust stock.

"The proceeds from these securities, however," said the witness, "are not used for the material advantage of our society, but for the conversion of Gentiles."

"We use this money for the development of religious work, and especially for defraying the expenses of our missionaries abroad." Mr. Smith knew nothing of the "watering" of the trust's stock or anything about the company's 'high finance,' but only that the money derived from the 'alliance' was highly useful in making converts."

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

S. J. CRESSWICK (Kennington).—The policy of the Socialist Party is to convince the working class of the need for Socialism, and to organise them for its realisation. The Socialist finds all the forces of capitalism arrayed against him, and the tactics to be pursued in combating them depend at all times upon the stage of the economic and political development that capitalism has reached. One thing is certain, however—we can never ally ourselves with the enemy, but must wage unceasing war against him. We have no qualms about using any measure the capitalists provide, such as Suffrage, for instance, to prosecute that war to a successful conclusion. As to the support of a particular measure, that would be decided at the time according to its merits.

L. S. (Nottingham).—Just as on any other specific question, the Socialist Party would decide the action to be taken.

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SURPLUS VALUE.

"Commodities are sold at their real values."
KARL MARX.

"Good, then," says our opponent, "since commodities are so exchanged, wherein lies the robbery of which you complain? The capitalist, in exchange for the commodity labour-power, gives an equivalent value in the shape of money, which the worker can again exchange for any commodity he requires.

To the casual observer it would appear that there is a contradiction in the Socialist teaching. If the above quoted statements are correct it would seem that the worker does not receive sufficient to satisfy his natural requirements because his labour is not of sufficient value. The question will naturally arise, whence comes the wealth upon which the capitalist lives? Is it that his labour is of more use to the community, and that consequently he receives more in exchange? Scarcely, for, as can be readily seen, those who receive the greatest share of the world's wealth, whatever their ability may be, do not use that ability in production.

The millionaires do nothing in the creation of their bank balances. The capital from which they draw their vast incomes is often invested in concerns they know little about. Maybe the industry in which they are "interested" is in a country they have never visited. The process by which the wealth is obtained is foreign to them, and all that they are concerned with is that the shares purchased by them (or their agents) are of a certain value and are "a good speculation."

It is possible that the wealthy individual has been instrumental in floating the company in which his money is invested, or he may be familiar with the purchase and sale of "stocks and shares." He may have amassed his millions in a successful gamble on the Stock Exchange, or in the purchase of a patent or a mine.

But starting a company produces nothing, and a lifetime spent in buying and selling shares, however many thousands it may bring into the pocket of the fortunate speculator, will not raise one atom of metal or a morsel of coal; will not produce an ear of corn or weave a single thread of linen cloth.

In what way, then, does the capitalist obtain vast stores of wealth without producing a fraction of it, while those who seemingly produce all are often without the bare necessities of existence?

Before unravelling this tangle, and having shown how the capitalist can obtain wealth without doing anything useful, let us see what the worker does and how he is rewarded.

The proletarian, whether artisan or labourer, seeks a job, the reason being, not that he is particularly fond of the atmosphere of a capitalist factory, mine, or workshop, but that, having nothing to exist upon, he is compelled to get food, clothing, and shelter from those who possess these things.

The worker obtains a situation in a factory, and proceeds to operate some tool or machine, to take part in the production of some commodity. He works for a certain number of hours, and at the expiration of that time is given a sum of money which is called his wage.

He has exchanged his commodity, labour-power, for another commodity, gold. The value of the gold he receives is equivalent to the value of the labour-power expended.

How are these values determined and in what way are these different articles related?

The value of the gold is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour time required to produce it, and the value of labour-power is determined in exactly the same way.

If, for instance, the time taken to produce an ounce of gold be found equal to the average number of hours required to produce those things necessary for the maintenance of an artisan for the period of one month, then an ounce of gold will be (on the average) the price of one month's labour-power. In other words his wage will be one ounce of gold (£3 17s. 10½d.) per month.

During the period of labour the artisan has expended an amount of energy that can be replaced by the expenditure of £3 17s. 10½d. Has he lost anything? Does not the transaction leave him where he was before? Let us see.

Were we considering a machine or other inanimate object, we should say: "That which was used has been replaced and there has been a fair exchange." But the worker is human, and as such does not exist merely to labour. He has occupied the whole of a month either in working or in recuperating. This experience has not been an enjoyable one, and had he consulted his own desires he would have ignored the "hooter" and gone about some other and more enjoyable business. He has lost a week of his life, and in return he has nothing to show. To the ordinary worker one week is as the next, and his whole life, with very few and short periods excepted, is spent in the same way. He has been robbed of all the pleasure and happiness that otherwise he might have enjoyed.

How has the employer fared? He has taken the worker's labour-power and given in return just sufficient to replace it. Employer and employed enter into a bargain. The employed does the work and gets nothing; the employer does nothing and gets—what?

I have previously stated that the proletarian had to enter the factory in order to obtain the means of life from those who possess those things. The capitalist has capital, and enters into the bargain with that. Where did he get it? He may have got it as a legacy; he may have "worked hard and saved it by thrift"; possibly, very possibly, he "pinched" it, but that does not matter for the moment. He advances sufficient for the labourer to live upon for a certain period, and during that period the latter must work and add value to some article or raw material, the property of the employer.

Now while the capitalist pays the full value for labour-power, that is, its cost of production, he does not give the labourer the value of his labour, namely, what he produces.

Given the present mode of production—scientific method, organised labour, power-driven machinery, etc., the worker can produce in 6 hours sufficient to provide himself and his family with necessities for a much longer period—for at least 48 hours. If, then, the employer works that individual for 24 hours and gives him in return sufficient to maintain him for 48, he can show a profit amounting to the product of 18 hours labour—three-quarters of the fruits of the labourer's toil.

That is what we call surplus value—value produced by the workers for which they receive nothing in exchange.

The difference between the labour-power of the worker and all other commodities is that in its consumption it creates a greater value than itself.

Prior to the capitalist system there was surplus labour. The labourer at one time produced for himself and also for his feudal lord. His week was divided into days during which he worked on his own land and days in which he was compelled to work for another, but the division was more clear and he could see that a great portion of his life was spent in work from which he obtained no benefit. Under capitalism, however, it is made to appear that the toiler receives full value for his labour by clouding its real meaning, and giving to the term "labour" the significance that should be applied to the expression "labour power."

"Those who labour in reality feed both the pensioners (called the rich) and themselves." Yes, and the "pensioners" are fed well for doing nothing, while those who labour exist upon the offal and the shoddy.

To abolish the commodity nature of human labour-power is the object of the Socialist, for while the labourer is compelled to sell his commodity in the open market its price will approximate to its cost of production and the working class will be compelled to accept a subsistence while robbed of the comforts of life that they themselves produce.

THE USE OF RELIGION.

"In societies such as ours, in which the inequality of fortune presents a striking contrast besides our political equality, the religious sentiment is the best means of reconciling and uniting together the rich and the poor. . . . It teaches the poor man to be patient and honest amid all temptations, to be content of a brighter future here below, and to look beyond the world to the hope of a good reward in another and a higher sphere of existence." M. CHATELAIN.

LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A PHILANTHROPIST.

Oct. 16, 1908.—This day is the thirtieth anniversary of my marriage and the fortieth of my business career. I remember well even now, how I calculated that my ten-year-old business warranted the step. I always opined that £1,000 per year was the minimum sum upon which a cultivated man could take the step of holy matrimony. My wife's dowry, of course, helped. As I look calmly back over the forty years I can estimate the relative values of various incidents and personal qualities which have contributed to my successful career. Minor factors in that success have been the building of a railroad near my native town, the growth of population in the district creating a market for my products; a plentiful supply of cheap labour; my good fortune in obtaining capable foremen at reasonable wages; and, last of all, the use of my recognised mental qualities, famed business foresight, and a determination to find regular employment for my beloved workpeople. My native town has indeed prospered; its population must have quadrupled during the last fifty years.

Jan. 9, 1909.—The granting of a commission on sales (usually called profit-sharing) to my shop managers has been a remarkable success, resulting in a large increase in trade. At a dinner which I gave to my staff a few days ago, several of the men spoke in eulogy of the commission scheme. They said, speaking with much feeling, that it had been a continual stimulus to increased exertion, and that without it their efforts to increase trade could not have been so determined. Some of the managers of my retail shops who proved incapable of response to this reasonable stimulus I have been compelled to dismiss.

I received to-day an acknowledgment of the cheque sent to the Guild of Help. It is with deep humility that I thank the Giver of All Blessings for such opportunities to succour the fallen. I notice that the receipt was signed by the chairman of the L.L.P., who is, I hear, chairman of the Guild.

July 9, 1909.—Following the example of my competitors, I twelve months ago placed a suggestion box in each department of my works. This was my scheme. If an idea occurred to any employee which he or she thought would conduce to the more economical working of the department, it was to be written down and placed in this box. For any adopted suggestion I promised a reward of 10s. The scheme has been fruitful—it is one more example of the value of that Mutual Aid which philosophers see existing throughout all time.

Dec. 3, 1909.—I have been invited to woo the constituency in which I reside, in the Liberal interest. The city is an industrial one and important enough to warrant any expenditure. Have given my political agent £10,000 for charitable purposes, but I am on the horns of a dilemma as regards its distribution. If I give to both Liberal and Tory I shall be accused of trying to change Tory votes to Liberal; if I give to Liberal alone I shall also be suspected of corruption. It is not my aim to delude a constituency, but merely to help poor people with whom I hope to stand in intimate relationship.

The Trades Union Congress is being held here this year. I have invited the delegates to a dinner at my place, and also to visit my model factory and see how well-ventilated rooms make the girls work merrily and briskly. The local Liberal paper is sending a reporter to write up the delegates' speeches. Have arranged for a series of whole page adverts in this paper—the proprietor is an earnest and useful man.

Feb. 6, 1910.—I learnt the value of sobriety and thrift at a Wesleyan Methodist Band of Hope. These cardinal virtues, having stood with me all possible tests, deserve wider recognition and acceptance, so with this object in view, I purpose building a Wesleyan chapel. A suitable site, about half a mile from my factory, has been secured. It is in the centre of the city, between the Corporation Gas Works and Messrs. Tanquik's large tannery.

Hearing that about a dozen capable youths in this town, connected with the various religious bodies, were becoming infected with Socialism, and that in the ordinary way they

may, perchance, become eloquent expositors of the Word, I have made arrangements to subsidise them and so allow them to attend a theological seminary. I often wonder why those Enemies of the Red Flag and similar organisations insist upon brazenly purchasing working-class talent; the bargain is too apparent. Clever working lads can be diverted from red ruin in far less ostentatious ways.

May 28, 1911.—I have to-day been pondering over the position I am placed in by recent legislation I mean of the type of Workmen's Compensation and State Insurance. Certainly I cannot oppose such legislation, although the new insurance scheme will cost me £500 per year. I readily allow that an employer of labour ought to stand in a moral relationship to his "hands." He ought not to think always of buying cheap and selling dear, and overlook human duties.

Well-meaning persons say that an increase in the price of my commodities must be the result of this legislation, but they speak rashly. The price I receive for my goods is not just what I desire, not any price I please to ask, but it is defined by well-known economic laws. If I am to save the £500 I must act on different lines. For instance, I buy labour-power, and as a check upon it I intend to purchase an Automatic Time Register. I check other commodities which I purchase, and there is no legitimate reason why I should not rigidly check labour-power. I also intend to economise in the office, first by purchasing an Addressing Machine and a Calculating Machine. I can now obtain an addressing Machine which will address 3,000 customers an hour. This is the track I must follow—economise so that I may ultimately be a helpful citizen. I have given instructions to the head of each department to keep a watchful eye on the machinery market, and to be in touch with all new mechanical improvements. If Lloyd George does not lessen my income he has certainly succeeded in quickening my faculties. But let us not forget the apostolic instruction: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." If we strive to carry out this great teaching we shall help forward that greater and nobler day when it shall be said of us:

Then none were for the Party;

Then all were for the State;

Then the great man helped the poor,

And the poor man loved the great.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

MRS. PARTINGTON AGAIN!

John Bull for June 10 published an article headed "Is the Small Trader Doomed? The Multi-Shop Octopus."

Once again the wild, despairing cry of the small shopkeeper is heard deploring the passing of his kind. After describing the methods by which the great firms oust the "little men," the position of the combine's employees is summed up thus:

"The lot of the employees is very unsatisfactory, the majority of these companies refusing to employ a man who has been in the service of their rivals, no matter why he left his previous situation. They are discharged on the merest pretext, as the continuous advertising amply proves, and their wages compare unfavourably with those paid by the small trader. One of the managers recently remarked that he did not think it advisable to keep a man more than 6 months as by that time they had exhausted all his ideas. Pick his brain and throw him on the human scrap heap!"

"The remedy" for the small trader is, John Bull tells us, "for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to impose a tax on multi-shop trading, as is done in Germany."

Is this a case for Bottenley's "Business Government" or the Lunacy Commissioners?

A. KAY.

A KNOWLEDGEABLES.

RECEIVED

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York)
"New York Call" (New York)
"Globe American" (New York)
"Western Wage Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Civil Service Socialist" (London)
"The New World" (West Ham)
"Freedom" (London)

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the *Socialist Standard*, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,



SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1911.

THE STRIKE AND ITS LEADERS.

Who has not read the Liberal rejoicings over the tremendous increase in the shipping returns? The Tariff Reformer has been continually confounded by the Liberal's references to the progress of the shipping trade. The Free Traders have told us that British capital controls more than half the carrying trade of the world. But our good Liberal Press has changed its tune very remarkably during the past few weeks. The great majority of the shipowners are members of our Liberal party, and the ferment among the seamen they employ has met with their most vehement opposition. No longer are we told about the wealthy and ever-rising shipping industry! But we are met with the lying plea that there is depression in the trade and the granting of better terms to the men will ruin the industry.

The men are fighting one of the most brutal unions of employers that capitalism has ever known. Besides a strong organisation with great financial resources sufficient to indemnify their members for any decline in profits, the Liberal shipowners have driven the once sacred and hallowed "competition" out of their business. Line after line has amalgamated with its rivals, and alliances and agreements have made "cutting" a thing of the past, and strengthened the position of the masters against the workers.

At a time when the Liberals are claiming to be the only true friends of the working class, it is useful to notice the actual composition of this party. What are the prominent names in the shipping trade? Russell Rea, M.P., the Cobden Club champion; Lord Furness, the director of twenty companies; Mark Palmer, the lord of Yarrow; the great Wilson family of Hull; the Runciman family of immortal memory; the Pirries; the Phillips; the Peases: Liberal shipowners all. They are they who say that £5 per month for skilled men working in the modern moving infernos is outrageous.

The hypocrisy of these supporters of "the greatest democratic government of our time" is glaring. Lord Furness was one of the most prominent "opponents" of (that terminological inexactitude) "Chinese Slavery." His protests were pathetic, and his tearful denunciation of "the greatest blot on England's fair fame" will be remembered even when other Furnesses sit in that ever extending chamber of horrors. But Furness & Co. believe that sentiment "in business" does not pay. That explains why the "Persiana" of the Furness line, lying in Barry Dock, engaged Chinese firemen at £3 10s. per month in preference to firemen of other nationalities at £1 10s. An unconsidered trifle is the fact that it costs 1s. 3d. per day to keep an European, but 6d. covers the cost in the case of the celestial.

It is enlightening to learn that the seamen's leader, Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, is a staunch supporter of the Liberal party. It is something of which a workmen's leader should be proud.

He was elected for Middlesborough in the Liberal interest, and the great foes of the workers—the Liberal shipowners—have always been pleased to contribute to his election fund. At the bye-election at Jarrow in 1910 he withdrew as seamen's candidate because "he did not intend that Mr. Russell Rea would not make as good a representative as he would," and "he did not want, under the circumstances, to let the Conservative in." Of course, Mr. Wilson has been amply repaid for his help to our masters, by the presence of the mighty ones on his election platforms.

What reason can a seamen's representative have for supporting the Liberal party? One of the first things the beloved Lloyd George did after his appointment in 1906 was to bring in a Merchant Shipping Bill, by which he raised the load line of British vessels. Havelock Wilson knows this, for did he not tell the unemployed seamen of Jarrow (vide *Manchester Guardian*) that "thousands of you are so unemployed to-day because of that very alteration of the load line, for at one stroke of the pen, by the alteration of the freeboard of ships, we have added to the tonnage of our vessels nearly one million tons of shipping."

Thus cunningly and silently did the shipowners' champion, Lloyd George, undo the work of Samuel Plimsoll. The latter carried on an agitation in the House of Commons in the early seventies, but met with the determined opposition of Gladstone & Co. For correctly describing the Liberal shipowners as "cold-blooded murderers" they had him brutally ejected from the House. How well the Liberals display the continuity in their brutality! When the great Liberal shipowner, Wilson, tried to break the Hull Dock Strike in 1894, by importing black-legs, the Liberal Government despatched gunboats to protect Wilson's property and guard the strike-breakers.

It is to Hull that the Liberals have again sent the forces of the State. The London policemen, fresh from performing the capitalists' coronation celebrations, have been called upon to discard their medals, white gloves, etc., and to proceed to Hull, armed with strong batons, for the purpose of enabling the Liberal shipowners to run their brutal business.

The police have already tried their practised hands on the strikers and the hospitals are busy. We may expect the soldiers to be utilised shortly, for has not Mr. Winstone Churchill told us in the House of Commons (June 26) that "when a local authority borrowed police it had to pay for them, but could obtain soldiers without paying anything at all. Consequently there was an incentive to use soldiers instead of police."

Meanwhile the men's leaders are playing the masters' game very well. The Union Castle and the Royal Mail lines had arranged for ships to take the plutocratic parasites to see the Naval review at Spithead. According to the *Manchester Guardian* of June 22, "In the morning, Mr. Havelock Wilson stated in an interview that he was going to send a telegram to the owners of the Coronation ships that the Union were willing to enter into negotiations to supply crews, without any regard to other matters under dispute, in order that the coronation guests might not be inconvenienced."

This is the strain that might be expected from a man who, in the contest in which the Labour, Liberal, and Tory parties were represented, shocked the Labourites by supporting the Liberal, who was a well known South Wales shipowner (Mr. S. H. Radcliffe).

The Union leaders are advising the men to accept terms which mean a miserable struggle to exist in the future as in the past. "Now I find," says Havelock Wilson, "that in one or two instances where companies have recognised the Union and I have ordered a compromise, there has been reluctance to carry out my instructions."

Mr. Wilson is far more anxious for the recognition, of the Union, in other words of the leaders, than for securing the workers a better position. He wants to become a power, and if any workman fails to do his bidding he threatens to resign.

In the manifesto quoted above Mr. Wilson says also:

"Before war was declared a conference of the representatives of the seamen was held, and after discussing the whole of our policy it was unani-

mously decided that I should have full and absolute control of the movement right through the United Kingdom, with full power to modify terms and insist upon higher ones, just as the movement presented itself to me."

So bad are the conditions of life for the dockers at Liverpool that this same leading Liberal paper (June 29) says:

"Non-union men are forcing the pace for the Union. It was non-union men who declined to unload the Glasgow boat which came in with a non-union crew, and non-union dockers, not disciplined to await a signal from recognised and authorised leaders, have been coming out elsewhere as the days have elapsed."

And they further state that "it has been impossible to distinguish the non-union from the Union man, unless it has been that the non-union man has been the more ready to give up his job."

Our sympathy is extended to the struggling seamen in their fight, but we would counsel them to be wary of the wiles of their leaders. They may get a concession from time to time to suit the convenience of their masters, but the battle they fight to-day will have to be continually fought, and when these battles are over they are wage-slaves still, with all the horrors of capitalism still to face.

Great changes in the ways of navigation also portend trouble for the toilers. The adoption of oil fuel instead of coal is considered a great saving by the masters. When this is more widely used the fireman will have their unemployed ranks increased.

The dockers who are striking have had lessons in this direction. Ever since the concession of the "tanner" an hour in 1889, speeding-up and hustling is a marked feature of dock life. Working with fewer men in a gang to do the work; the use of cup and suction elevators; the adoption of improved cranes; these are the weapons with which the dock labourers are faced, and that have resulted in so much casual employment amongst them.

The leaders of the Dockers' Union are equally reprehensible with those of the seamen. Ben Tillett, the man who has gone up and down the country, at Trade Union Congresses, and in Liberal rags, advocating "Compulsory Arbitration"—the employers' panacea. Tom Mann, who is trying to side-track the workers into wasting their powers in a futile chasing of "a kind of unionism known as industrial unionism."

These are your leaders, toilers of land and sea!

"DAILY EXPRESS" POLICY.

Commenting on the article "King Capital's Coronation" in our June issue, the *Daily Express* of June 8 waxes righteously pharisaic.

It compares Socialism, which "means degradation and ruin," with Daily Expressism, which "supports all measures designed to lift humanity to higher levels, to improve the conditions of life for all classes, to add to the sum of human happiness, and to promote the welfare of the whole community."

Also—but this quite incidentally—"to make the workers more efficient" and "to give the British manufacturer fair play."

That is what we workers are too stupid to see. If instead of studying Socialism we read the *Daily Express*, what an improvement would be wrought in us. Made thereby wiser and more efficient we should no longer dream of wronging the poor downtrodden manufacturer. We should learn to love "laws which are immutable" and to bear patiently "distresses which must continue as long as the world shall last."

But a horrid thought obtrudes.

If economic laws are immutable and social distress unending, why does the *Daily Express* waste its time in supporting measures designed "to uplift humanity to higher levels," etc?

Can it be that Mr. Pearson, who is really responsible for this balderdash, doesn't care a hang about the world's impossible uplifting, but looks only to certain social and financial benefits which such twaddle obtains from the capitalists and their Government? Perish the suggestion!

None the less, there is something the workers can learn from the *Daily Express*.

It is not to throw money away buying it.

A. HOSKINS.

A BLUE-BLOODED HIPPOPOTAMUS.

Let us congratulate ourselves too early that the violent hysteria which has seized the Press and public is subsiding, and that Reason is climbing back to her perch, we are rudely shaken by that daily masterpiece of culture and refinement, the "Daily Express," into a due regard for the stern realities of a coronation. The "Daily Express" is not a paper to be read every day. Nature has wisely ordained otherwise. I refer to that well-known fact of psychology by which it is incumbent that the more intense pleasures should be tasted relatively infrequently. A regular reader of the sheet referred to is a deplorable spectacle, and as much to be pitied as a victim of the opium habit.

The usual brilliancy of the "Daily Express's" dazzling pages reached its blinding zenith a few days ago, when it informed the mere work-a-day world that the King—God bless him!—was, in the opinion of the Boy Scouts, a hippopotamus. This, of course, will be greeted by the less intelligent (that is if the first paroxysm of shocked patriotism leaves him mentally whole) with what is known to "Daily Express" readers as a howl of derision, followed by an expression of unbelief in our good faith. Any criticism on these lines is silenced by referring those so afflicted to the "Daily Express" of Saturday, June 10.

To save you any trouble in the matter I will quote the first part of the column in full:

THIRTY THOUSAND BOY SCOUTS.

WEIRD ZULU WELCOME TO THE KING.

"HE IS A LION—A LION."

"Thirty thousand Boy Scouts will greet the King at Windsor on July 4, and the form of their greeting will be far from conventional. The long lines of a military parade will be lacking, for Lieut-General Baden Powell will marshal the Scouts after the manner of Zulu and Basuto impis.

"Every Scout will give the call of his patrol bird or animal—the wolf, bull, rattlesnake, hyena, peewit, cuckoo, and scores of others. Then there will be a dead silence, and a moment later the Scouts will sing the weird Zulu chant:—

'Een gonyama, yonyama.
Invoohoo
Yah bo! Yah bo!
Invoohoo.'

which, being interpreted means:—

'He is a lion—a lion!'

Yes! he is better than that; he is a hippopotamus!"

So that you will perceive that the Boy Scouts are not so mad as they look, not by a jugful. Yah bo! Yah bo! The Editor's salary to three yonyamas that not one Englishman in a thousand knew the true inwardness of Yah bo until June 10. I hope, further, that any takers will journey to ancient and castellated Windsor on July 4, and take a gramophone record of 30,000 wolves, bears, bulls, rattlesnakes, hyenas, cuckoos, peewits, etc., in full song, and present it to an Institution for Broken-down Clergymen, to be used as a sedative, or to give them a kindly foretaste of the bliss to come. Let him save a record blank until after the "dead silence." Dead silence sounds ominous and almost prophetic, doesn't it? Thirty thousand sparrow-legged Boy Scouts yell Yah bo! to the King of England, Emperor of India, etc., provides a spectacle which is at once inspiring, illuminating and of happy augury. This is a joy that Caesar never tasted. Neither Alexander nor Pompey could command it. Thirty thousand penny broomsticks athwart the blue of heaven, and then: "Yah bo! Invoohoo!"

Ah! God is good! Centuries, ages, aeons of evolution, and then to come to "Yah bo!" Enough! Our duty is plain and clear as a pitchfork. Our youth shall be instructed in the whole art and mystery of gonyama, coupled with Yah bo. After which we shall see what we shall see.

PARIS.

CO-PARTNERSHIP IN GAS WORKS.

At the annual meeting of the Labour Co-partnership Association, held at Westminster in March and reported in the columns of the "Gas World" (April 1st.), the president, Mr. Corbett Woodall, said there was evidence of "a revolt against the attempted classification of human flesh and blood with raw material, or fuel, as a contributory to the supposed need of capital in the way of profitable employment." The "attempt," we are told, was an error, even from an economic point of view, as ripper experience had abundantly demonstrated. Meanwhile labour organised for its own "deliverance."

It may be noted in passing, that such elastic logic on the part of Mr. Woodall permits him to declare first, that the attempted classification is economically unsound, and then to show trade union and labour organisation as a desire on the part of the workers for deliverance. This tempts one to ask, what do they wish to be delivered from?—especially as the platform of the Co-partnership Association has resounded to the tread of such considerate friends of the workers as Alexander Henderson, Arthur J. Balfour, and others.

Since the workers' very existence is determined by the economic basis of present society, it is fatuous for Mr. Woodall to say no one can possibly object to "defensive" action on the part of the wage-earner. If the workers' premises are unsound, then the defensive action falls and constitutes the objection in itself.

Corbett Woodall mouths effusions as to a fair minimum wage. He might just as reasonably talk of an honest burglary. He says the workers must not be aggressive, because co-partnership spells salvation to them. They must not pin their official faith to Socialism.

The speaker knew, and had great respect for, many labour leaders, and it surprised him that "so many of them should profess themselves Socialists." But Mr. Woodall must realise that when labour men are Socialists they will not seek his society or respect, or pat him on the back on Co-partnership platforms. They will, instead, be educating the trustful and misguided "co-partners" in the science of revolt, and not in leading them to the shambles.

"What is wanted," Mr. Woodall went on to declare, "is an appeal to the soul of man, who has never been satisfied with bread alone." We require inducement to the improvement of man and of the fruits of his toil. The hope of mankind lies in his power of self sacrifice.

But what self sacrifice has Mr. Woodall and his like, unblushing mouthers of "altruism" as they are, ever subjected themselves to? The various agreements drawn up for "co-partners" to sign certainly show nothing on the masters' part of self-sacrifice, no tendency except to perpetuate the wages system. Their actions are as materialistic even as Mr. Woodall declares Socialism to be, and conceived on class lines narrower than that of the trade union policy he girds at—narrower if only because the capitalist class is smaller. They recognise to day that it is cheaper to bribe the worker than to fight him, more so as the wages have gradually decreased since the introduction of profit-sharing by gas companies, not to mention the speeding-up, the introduction of wage saving machinery, and the miserable system of espionage, inseparable from the profit-sharing, as apparently, an appeal to the soul of man.

The present writer, at all events, cannot disagree with Mr. Woodall's claim that the world is ripe for another step upward and onward in social progress. It is not only capitalism, however, that is "growing weary of wages settlements that do not settle anything, and of bargains that bear no more strain than wet paper." But the way does not lie through co-partnership, and it is hopeless to think of agreements to obtain finally when a growing number of the working class absolutely deny the right of existence to a master class, and declare that nothing short of the overthrow of the existing social form can eradicate the hostility which exists between employers and employed.

A table was submitted showing that in all 28 companies with 19,613 co-partner employees,

have paid £726,126 in a period of 21 years. The highest percentage was paid by the South Metropolitan Gas Co. 8½ per cent. This, on a wage of 25s. a week would be less than 2s. On the other hand, where wages were 35s., they are now 25s., so that to reduce wages 10s. at a cost of 2s. in the guise of divided profit, certainly warrants all the enthusiasm for co-partnership which the masters lavish upon it.

Further confirmation of this point was contained in the statement that the late Sir George Livesey would relate how he once inquired of another large employer of labour, whether a workman with a real interest in saving time and materials and stopping waste, might not be worth an extra 5 per cent. on his wages. "Say 20 per cent." was the answer.

Although this was a "co"-partnership meeting, only the "profit" payable to the workers was dealt with. The very fact that masters show such animated interest in forcing a share of their profits upon those from whom, in other times and places, they just as enthusiastically wring that profit, is a sufficiently illuminating circumstance to put co-partnership in its proper place, among the many swindles the capitalists and their henchmen, the labour "leaders," have together devised for the benefit of their credulous dupes.

"SOUTHERNER."

THE REAL MOTIVE BEHIND STATE INSURANCE.

Just as with Labour Exchanges and Old-Age Pensions, so with the latest dodge, State Insurance, it is a soporific. All along the line of Liberal legislation an examination shows that the benefits go to the employing class, not to the employed.

In working-class districts all over the country, the people are told from Liberal platforms that poverty and destitution, sickness and disease, are to be vigorously dealt with and eradicated, while at the same time the employers are being assured that these schemes, far from costing them anything, will, in the long run, result in a greater return for the sums that are to be expended.

Lloyd George, at Birmingham, exposed the mockery of the claim that these measures are being introduced to benefit the working class. He said:

"Take a brewer's horse. How well he is looked after—well fed, cared for, and doctored. If he does not feel up to the mark he has got a guardian there specially looking after him. He says there is something the matter with his horse to-day. He is kept there, is doctored, until he is right. That is not merely humanity, it is good business. Take a machine. If you neglect a machine, a very small matter develops into a big one. It may simply mean that you want to oil a bearing, to tighten a screw. But if the machinist says I cannot afford to allow this machine to rest for two or three days in order to overhaul it, what happens? That machine has a bad breakdown sooner or later, and it may have to be scrapped. It is good business to overhaul a thing of that kind in time before it develops."

Just so. To keep the worker in a fit condition ensures a greater output, and the increased efficiency resulting from such condition will enable the employer to wring more profit out of his victim, for, while the labour power may cost a little more, the return is certain to be greater.

A paper issued by the Government contains still more significant statements from German employers who have experienced the working of similar insurance schemes. The president of one of the largest associations of employers in the iron and steel industry, basing his opinions on special enquiries addressed to leading firms, says, among other things:

"The laws 'pay' employers from their own standpoint, since they, too, are given a greater feeling of security . . . and they are protected against constant disputes with exacting claimants."

"The proof that these laws are remunerative to employers lies in the fact that an employer has an interest in having at his disposal a healthy and efficient labour force."

From the "Chemical Industry" comes the statement that:

"From the standpoint of the employers these laws are remunerative to the extent that the efficiency of the worker is increased, and without the insurance laws correspondingly higher wages would have to be paid."

Herr E. Schmidt, president of the German Tobacco Manufacturers' Association, says:

"To-day, however, these contributions are booked either to the general expenses account or the wages account—for they are, in fact, a part of wages. . . . Speaking as one employer to another, I am of the opinion that the investment in these insurance contributions is not a bad one."

Apart from the capitalist as employer, the statement of the Poor Law Board of Frankfurt-on-Main that "the insurance laws have unquestionably afforded direct and permanent relief to the Poor funds" is reiterated by the thirteen towns quoted.

To sum up the whole situation, it is but necessary to quote Dr. F. Lahn, Director of the Bavarian Statistical Office, bearing in mind that the State referred to is a capitalist State, and that "national economy" means for the working class a greater speeding up—an economy in the matter of wages. He says:

"Industrial insurance is regarded by many people simply as a burden placed on certain branches of economic production, and is judged in the same way as taxation. Such a view is just as one-sided and fallacious as if one were to represent our schemes of sanitation, education, and poor relief as a system of national taxation instead of as important constituents of our national system of social welfare, devised to awaken slumbering powers in the body politic, to use them in the service of the State by the nurture and increase of our productive efficiency to further the national economy and the welfare of the State. If it is true that in the keen rivalry of the nations victory will lie with those peoples which have at command the greatest reserves of strength and health, industrial insurance must take a leading place in this policy of industrial welfare."

Just as Germany a few years ago recognised that in order to obtain the markets of the world they must have efficient labourers, so to day the "British" capitalists, ever behind, realise that to combat Germany they must economise, they must obtain a better quality of labour-power—if possible without increasing its cost. Hence there is a welling-up of the milk of human kindness in the capitalist breast, and we get State Insurance and the like. TWEL.

THE BIRKBECK COLLAPSE.

We are always being told about "the savings of the working classes" and the vested interest they have in the banks and allied institutions in this country. But when the Birkbeck Building Society's Bank closed its doors, another story was told by our good capitalist Press.

We then heard of the hundreds of pounds being lost by this investor and that one, and day by day the story was continued of 10s. in the £ amounting to one, two and three hundred pounds, being carried away.

Much was written about the struggle of this shopkeeper and that professional man, etc., to save up his little hoard.

Once for all, then, the anti-Socialists give the lie to their own cry, that it is the savings of the workers invested in these institutions. They themselves amply prove that the banks are filled with the money of others than members of the working class.

Even the small savings of the working class are at the mercy of the capitalist financiers. The workers do not control the money, which comes into the hands of the capitalists, who use it to exploit the toilers.

The sequel to the bankruptcy supplied backing to the Socialist contention that the control over capital concentrates into relatively fewer hands as this system develops.

The business of the Birkbeck was acquired by the London County and Westminster Bank, one of the premier banks, with a capital of 14 millions. That is the usual way: the small concern dies and the large one grows greater at its expense. K.

THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM.

RAYMOND TUNE, of Petone, New Zealand, writes asking us to answer in our correspondence column the following questions:

(1) Is there any foundation in the charge that the position of the S.P.G.B. is too academic and scientific for the average discontented proletarian to grasp, and that some such elementary party like the I.L.P. or S.D.P. is necessary to serve as a sort of primary school from which a proletarian can graduate later on?

(2) Also is there any foundation in the charge that the S.P.G.B. never obtains members direct from the clutches of the capitalist class, but on the contrary, that they come from the more intelligent and discontented members of other organisations?

The charge against the position of the Socialist Party of Great Britain of being too academic and scientific to be readily grasped by the average member of the working class is usually made by some unfortunate member of the I.L.P. or S.D.P., whose mental outlook upon life has been so confused and maltreated by the teachings of these pseudo-Socialist parties as to have become practically atrophied.

Science is the systematisation (ergo, the simplification) of knowledge. The very fact, therefore (admitted by our would-be detractors), of the scientific nature of our position, should be sufficient in itself to convince our correspondent that the average discontented proletarian can, if he so desires, readily grasp all the essential points necessary for the proper understanding of Socialism.

A careful reading of the Declaration of Principles printed on the back page of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, will at once clearly and unmistakably show both the strength and the simplicity of the Socialist position. Not one of the principles on which that position stands has been, or can be, refuted.

As to the advisability or possibility of graduating from the I.L.P. or S.D.P. into the Socialist Party (why not also from the Anti-Socialist Union or the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals?), one might as reasonably expect a student to join the Salvation Army or the Roman Catholic Church in order to graduate eventually therefrom as a professor of biology.

The I.L.P. and the S.D.P. have never taught anything but the pseudo-Socialism of the reformist school. The idea that anyone could possibly obtain the most elementary knowledge of Socialism from either of these parties is manifestly absurd.

With regard to the second question, the Socialist Party obtains members from all sources: some from other political organisations, some from the ranks of those who have never been in any party. Those members who leave other organisations to join the Socialist Party do so for obvious reasons. The members of the working class, leaving school with practically no education (certainly without any education in political or economic thought), have to educate themselves in the only school open to them—that of experience. It thus sometimes happens that the specious promises and high-falutin' ideals held out to them, lead the uneducated or semi-educated workers into one or other of these particular organisations. But with ripening intelligence and an increased desire to understand their real position in society, they very soon see through the trickery and confusion among which they have strayed. They learn—often from bitter experience—not what Socialism is, but what it is not. If they still desire to become Socialists, and are not so disgusted as to sink into apathy, they seek until they find, at last, a party that is really a Socialist Party—the S.P.G.B.

The schools of reformist thought presided over by Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, may very well be good training grounds for budding bureaucrats, labour-deceys and prospective Cabinet Ministers, but, except altogether in a negative manner, they are unthinkable as doing anything in the way of making Socialists. As a matter of fact, the confusion and mental decrepitude engendered by the teachings of the

I.L.P. and the S.D.P. have done more to retard the progress of Socialism than all the efforts of the orthodox political parties. F. J. WERN.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND REFORMS.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Forest Gate, Essex.

SIR.—Recognising your Party's hostility toward reforms, and being, for the most part, in sympathy with your standpoint in this respect, I still remain without any knowledge as to how such reforms as the following can be considered as being detrimental to working-class interest, and some comment on the matter may, therefore, elucidate your unwavering attitude in regard to any reform whatsoever:

- (1) Educational reform (already conceded).
- (2) Male suffrage.
- (3) The feeding of school children, from the point of view that it is impossible for children to be effectively educated unless well fed. If they are well fed, therefore, it would follow that as a result of their education they would better understand their position in life than they would if they were ill-fed and mal-educated. Therefore why oppose this reform?
- (4) Secular education—the advantages of which need no comment.—Yours, etc., L. A. BOSTOCK.

THE S.P.G.B., as distinguished from every other organisation in this country, is the party with Socialism, and nothing but Socialism, as its object. It is, consequently, not to be side-tracked into raising mere hostility to reform—or the reverse—into equal importance with its object. Its guiding principle is not hostility to reforms but hostility to capitalism; and since its aim is Socialism its whole policy in regard to reforms is dictated solely by the exigencies of the class struggle for Socialism, and must continue to be so dictated, whatever changes in the conditions of the fight may intervene.

Wherever needful for its object the Party must, therefore, make use of, ignore, or resist, any reform as determined by the particular circumstances. Consequently it cannot seek support for or advocate any policy of reform or anti-reform, for such must always be sacrificed upon occasion for its object, while such policies might—as seen in other organisations—attract those who do not accept the object of the Party, thus weakening its definite aim. All such matters are considered by it as worthy of attention only in so far as they bear distinctly on the question of working-class emancipation.

This subordination of all means to one end, and of all issues to the supreme one of the conquest of the State for Socialism, is the only logical policy for the Socialist Party. Without it, indeed, the party could not be Socialist.

Mr. Bostock is, therefore, completely in error in assuming that in showing the unsatisfactory nature of reforms in themselves, and their utter futility as solutions of what is called the "Social Problem," the S.P.G.B. is necessarily hostile toward all reforms, and considers them as being in every case inevitably "detrimental to working-class interest."

Even were the capitalists omniscient and of one opinion on every point, it would still remain a fact that they are compelled by economic development to weaken their stronghold. Our enemies are forced, as it were, to dig their own graves, and it is by no means our policy to prevent them doing so. We should, indeed, be traitors to our cause did we not endeavour to make it profit by every mistake and every point of weakness of the enemy. There is danger only in allowing any consideration whatever to influence the policy of the party other than its object and the conditions of the struggle necessary to its attainment. Socialists, in short, must beware of being scared or cajoled either to the right or the left of the scientific way to Socialism.

With regard to the reforms enumerated by our correspondent, our attitude results inevitably from the position outlined above. All of them have been dealt with in these columns. Let us, however, briefly notice them here.

(1) The Education Acts were not motivated

(despite declarations to the contrary) by any wish on the part of the ruling class as a whole to benefit the workers, but to benefit themselves and to obtain cheap and efficient wage workers. It should be noted that the paltry measures of working-class "education" now in force stop short even of this despicable ideal. Therefore the Socialist has certainly no feeling whatever of gratitude toward his exploiters when he takes the fullest advantage of this reform for the furtherance of the workers' cause.

(2) Male suffrage does not exist. We take the greatest useful advantage of the present property suffrage, and would not consider Adult Suffrage "detrimental to working-class interest." Socialism is the interest of the many, not of the few; its method, therefore, is that of democracy. But since Socialism is greater than all means, we would not bargain with our enemies, or hate one jot or tittle of our object or principles for any extension of the franchise, much less for a mere promise. We have, moreover, seen the dismal folly of supporting an individual or a party that is utterly opposed to us on every vital point because of some minor point of utility. The grain of good is overwhelmed by a flood of harm.

(3) We do not oppose, and never have opposed, the feeding of school children. We have adversely criticised certain proposals for State maintenance, which would mean the taking of children from their parents to be reared in barracks by the State, pithed with anti-working-class ideas, and given the mentality of the flunkey. We have further pointed out the economic effects of such a measure on the labour market, where feeding here is often counterbalanced by more misery there, and where, owing to the worsening trend of economic pressure, every attempt short of Socialism to stem the tide of increasing working-class poverty must fail. And we have pointed out the inevitable Socialist moral.

It is, further, a fallacy to assume that the class-consciousness of the worker has any definite relation to the amount of food he gets. The flunkeys are probably the best fed and the least class-conscious. The slum-proletariat is the worst fed, and is hardly more class-conscious than the wage-slaves of flunkeydom. We rely neither on feeding nor on starving, but upon ripening economic conditions, together with sound Socialist propaganda.

(4) As to Secular Education under Capitalism, it may well prove a mare's nest. Its advantages may possibly be non-existent. Only when religion has lost its efficacy as a working-class drug will it be abandoned by the ruling class in the schools. But what will take its place? A scientific curriculum? Or superstition in even worse forms, such as cunningly devised capitalist ethics, or a deadlier patriotism? Hence the peculiar wisdom of the classic phrase "Wait and see!"

Reforms usually take away with the left hand what they offer with the right, and the last state of the reformed is often worse than his first. There is a vast difference between the vague proposal and the final measure. The latter may in its own cunning clauses more than neutralise the grain of good originally proposed. Let the capitalist class, therefore, take entire responsibility for its handiwork. Our lack of enthusiasm and severely critical attitude toward all reforms of whatever colour is, in consequence, fully justified. Not only do we regard them as mere minor and relatively insignificant incidents in the class war, but we know them to be, in the main, fraudulent in themselves.

Socialism can no more come by an accumulation of reforms than a new and up-to-date boiler can result from an accumulation of patches on an ancient one. It presupposes the conquest of political power by the Socialist working class—the SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

A program of reforms is not only superfluous, its existence proves that the party possessing it has taken reform for its object instead of Socialism. It is, moreover, a fraud upon the toilers, for until they are supreme their party can pass no reforms—these are grants by the capitalist class, to be considered only in so far as they can be made use of for the cause—and when the working class is triumphant reforms will be entirely redundant, for Socialism will be here. W.

LABOUR IN LANCASHIRE.

MANY facts of interest to workers may be gleaned from the report of the International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations, presented to their conference held at Amsterdam in June. Mr. Wm. Marsland, the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Cotton Spinners of England, is also Secretary of the Federation, and he tells us that out of the total membership of 430,027, England accounts for 200,000. During the three years the Report covers the membership in this country has remained stationary. This stagnant condition has obtained in most other lands, and is ascribed to "the severe depression in trade which has been more or less prevalent in all countries for the greater part of the three years."

In the reports from the British Spinners' Unions, Mr. Mullins, secretary of the Card and Blowing Room Operatives, states that the funds have suffered greatly during the last three years. In 1908 £1,730, 1909 £27,000, and in 1910 £45,000 was paid out for "Bad Trade" benefit. "The drain on our funds for accidents and injuries to members has been very great," he points out, notwithstanding the century of "factory legislation" we have had.

On behalf of the Operative Spinners' Association Mr. Marsland states that, since 1908 £277,000 has been paid in "Bad Trade" benefit and £173,000 for strikes and lock-outs.

Mr. W. C. Robinson, of the "Beamers, Twistors and Drawers," says: "The mechanical drawing and tying machines grow but slowly; however, they are increasing, and we expect they will do, consequently we have to make some additional provision for monetary payments to our members who are thrown out of work in consequence of their introduction."

Under the "Weaving Section" reports, Mr. J. Cross, of the Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation, points out that "the majority of the mills worked short time, and some of them were closed altogether for months at a stretch, and £276,000 was spent in the three years on strikes and stoppage." After drawing attention to the pilfering "system in the weaving department of inflicting fines for alleged bad work," mostly caused by the cheapest materials being used, Mr. Cross goes on to say: "In about one-half the weaving mills it is the practice to use artificial humidity in order to make what may be called a 'weaving atmosphere.' The practice is to send into the sheds hot steam ejected from the pipes, or to spray the air with fine particles of water. The workpeople have taken strong objection to artificial humidity of any kind on the ground that it is detrimental to their health, and that the practice is mostly required in order to facilitate the weaving of inferior material. The objections of the workpeople can be well understood even by an outside observer, when it is explained that hot steam is sent through the sheds even during the summer months, causing the greatest personal discomfort and much physical prostration, and in the winter months the sheds are heated to such an extent that many people are apt to contract bronchitis and rheumatism."

It is news pregnant with dire meaning for the immediate future to learn that "The Northrop loom is making progress, and if the adoption of the loom should assume a more rapid character the cotton weavers of Lancashire will be faced to face with the greatest problem of their lives. When it is considered that the operatives are working 12, 16, and 20 Northrop looms each, and the number of looms of the Lancashire type worked by each weaver (the average is about four looms for each weaver) the prospect of steady employment in the future is not very bright."

"It is admitted on every hand that the introduction of the new loom means the displacement of a large number of workpeople, and it cannot be expected that the cotton trade will ever, under the most favourable conditions, be able to expand sufficiently to absorb the unemployed."

Time after time during the last 70 years hours have been reduced in the cotton factories and strike after strike has been declared. Yet the fact stands out that the operative to day is faced with greater difficulties than ever before. He produces more in fewer hours, and works

"short time" and is unemployed to a degree previously unknown. Through sheer depletion of their funds the operatives go back to work on the masters' terms after being locked out for weeks. Combination among the masters and amalgamation of companies proceed fast and far. In view of the conditions under which the men work and the poverty they suffer, it is not surprising that ill health dogs their footsteps all their lives. At a protest meeting against the Insurance Bill held by the Lancashire Branch of the British Medical Association we were told, among the £100 limit: "That, as they knew in Lancashire, was going to take away from them the cream of their practice. Wage earners from 30s. per week upwards were the backbone of their practice, and they received from these wage earners more than from all the others combined." Hence we see that it is the workers who provide the doctors with work—and fees—through illness resulting from the conditions of their toil.

What have the Lancashire toilers done to end their slavery? History answers "Little." Lancashire is a stronghold of Liberalism and Free Trade, and despite the fact that the great majority of the employers in her staple industries (textiles) are Liberals, they are voted into place and power every time. Mr. C. W. Macara, the secretary of the employers' Federation, who has again and again organised the lock-out of the operatives and reduced them to servile submission, is also Vice-President of the Free Trade Union and a noted Liberal. The officials of the trade unions are Liberals also practically to a man and the Labour M.P.s for local divisions may be seen advocating Free Trade upon the Free Trade League platforms throughout Lancashire. Is it not time that the workers of Lancashire took a lesson from their employers and organised politically to protect their interests? It cannot be done by Labour Parties who support half-time for children in the mills, and who seek to murder the toddling little ones by backing Bills to lower the age at which they leave school and enter the factory hells of Lancashire.

No! The road to liberty, the road from slavery, is the Socialist road. March on, toilers of Cottonopolis! K.

SUFFRAGETTE MANGLED.

ANOTHER serious blow has been dealt the "time wasters" and "confusion mongers." This time the deed was done in the ancient borough of Gravesend, which is far-famed for its shrimps—and its cesspools. The recipients of this latest trouncing were the Women's Social and Political Union, and their champion was "Organiser" Miss Laura Ainsworth.

The debate took place at the "Clock Tower" on Saturday, June 3. Even before the debate commenced the lady flew the white flag by desiring that the wording of the proposition should be altered to which ye gallant knight, Anderson, with his usual courtesy, agreed. Then the lady, who should have opened by affirming "That Women's Suffrage is essential for the betterment of the Working Class," with that true understanding of "Women's Rights" which might be expected of her, refused to speak first, thus putting Anderson in the awkward position of having to confirm a negative. However, our comrade's first speech made it evident to the large audience that the lady's case was hopeless. Miss Ainsworth's first effort made it still more so; and the second speech of Anderson so reduced the supporter of votes for wealthy women that the debate became almost a farce.

The poor girl tried again, but could not last out her appointed time, and left us about 9.20 in a hurry to catch one of those convenient trains.

Anderson then spent the rest of the time up till 10 p.m. answering questions and putting the Socialist position, and so effectively did he do this that the members of the I.L.P. who were present had dismay writ large on their faces.

It was a splendid meeting. Good propaganda was done and some of the humbug of the pseudo-Socialists ably exposed. Everyone present was supplied with leaflets, and the Independent Labour Party were once more publicly challenged to support in debate their claim to the title of Socialists. W. G. WAGG.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JULY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, East Park Gates	11.30 J. Holmes	A. Jacobs	A. Barker	J. Holmes
" Prince's Head	7.30 H. Joy	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns
Clapham Common	3.30 H. Joy	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Hoskyns	R. Fox	A. Jacobs
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	F. Leigh	F. Dawkins
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 C. Parker	J. Nightman	R. Fox	F. W. Stearn
Kennington, Brockwell Pk.	6.15 J. Holmes	H. Cooper	J. Nightman	A. Barker
Kennington Triangle	11.30 J. Nightman	A. Barker	J. Halls	J. E. Roe
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 F. Dawkins	R. Fox	F. Stearn	T. W. Allen
" "	7.30 A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	F. J. Rourke	R. Fox
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 J. Halls	T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson	F. Leigh
Parliament Hill	11.30 F. W. Stearn	J. Halls	H. Joy	F. J. Rourke
Peckham Triangle	7.30 A. Barker	H. Joy	J. Holmes	F. J. Rourke
Peckham Triangle, Bideley Rd., Dalston.	11.30 A. Pearson	A. Hoskyns	A. Jacobs	R. Fox
Tooting Broadway	7.30 A. Barker	F. Dawkins	J. Nightman	A. Barker
" "	7.30 H. Cooper	J. Holmes	H. Cooper	J. Fitzgerald
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 F. Leigh	F. J. Rourke	F. Dawkins	A. W. Pearson
" "	7.30 A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Church Hill	8.0 F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson	A. Hoskyns	C. Parker
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	" J. Nightman	A. Barker	J. E. Roe	H. Cooper
Watford Market Place	7.30 R. Fox	F. Leigh	H. Joy	J. Nightman
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson	C. Parker	C. Ginger
" "	7.30 F. Leigh	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
Woolwich, Beresford Sq.	11.30 T. W. Allen	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	F. Dawkins

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30.]
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8. Hoxton Ch., 8.30.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA. —F. Cadman, Sec., 4, Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.	WOOLWICH. —G. Ayres, Sec., 450 Woolwich Road, Charlton. Branch meets Thursdays at 8 p.m. G. Harrison's, Newsagent, Wellington Street, Woolwich.
BURNLEY. —G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.	WOOD GREEN. —W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.
CENTRAL. —Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.	WORTHING. —G. Stoner, sec., 31 Southfield-road, Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets altern. Tues. 8.30 at Newland Rd. Coffee Rooms.
EARLSFIELD. —R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield-rd. Wandsworth. Branch meets Sats. 29 Thornsett-rd. at 8.0. Rooms open every evening.	
EAST HAM. —Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.	
EDMONTON. —Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.	
FULHAM. —J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.	
GRAVESEND. —Communications to W. Wragg, Denton Hospital, Gravesend.	
ISLINGTON. —S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road, Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd. Holloway, N.	
LAMBETH. —H. Martin, Secy., 112, Gloucester Rd., Peckham, S.E. Branch meets Fridays, 8 p.m., at 38 Brixton-rd., S.W.	
MANCHESTER. —T. McCarthy, Sec., 42, Gladden-st., Bradford-rd., Manchester. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street.	
NOTTINGHAM. —L. Shearstone, Sec., 4, Balfour rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Weds. at 7.30 at Cobden House, Peachey-st.	
PADDINGTON. —Communications to Sec., 14 Great Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W., where Branch meets Thurs. at 8.30 p.m.	
PECKHAM. —W. Wren, Secy., 91, Evelina-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.	
ROMFORD DIVISION. —All communications to branch Secretary, Head office, pro. tem.	
STOKE NEWINGTON. —S. Quelch, Sec., 152, High-st., Shoreditch, E.C. Branch meets Mon. at 8.15 at Lockharts, 2, Dalston Ln. (2nd floor).	
THORNTON HEATH. —A. McIntyre, Sec., 29, Gilsland-rd., Thornton Heath.	
TOOTING. —H. Wallis, Sec., 167, Longley Rd., Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Gorrings Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.	
TOTTENHAM. —F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.	
WALTHAMSTOW. —Communications to Secy., 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.	
WATFORD. —P. Simons, Sec., 53, Church Road, Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street, Public discussion at 8.45.	
WEST HAM. —A. Jacobs, Sec., 75 Napier-rd., West Ham. Branch meets alt. Mon. 7.30 at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park.	

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

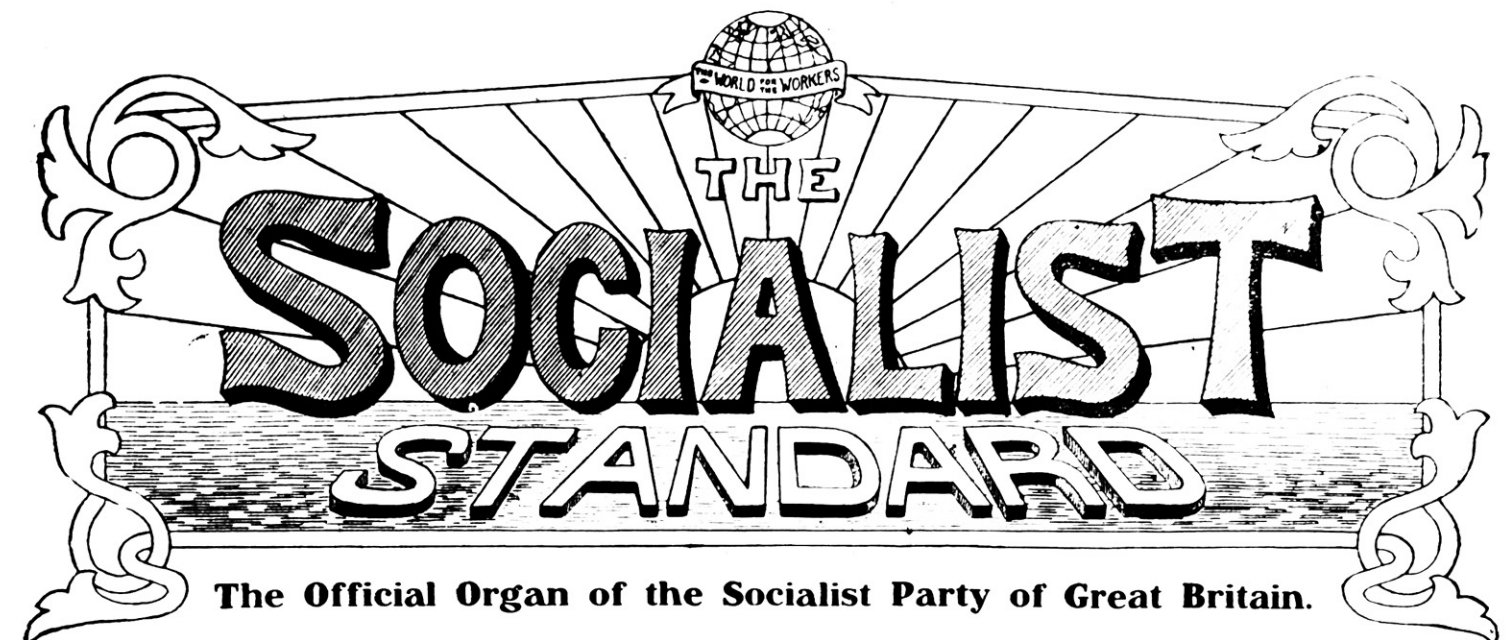
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LONDON, AUGUST 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE ANARCHISM. ITS FALLACIES AND DANGERS EXPOSED.

THE evils of modern society stand out for all men to see, but the remedy is far less obvious. To arrive at the conclusion that Socialism is the real remedy involves patient study and investigation of the affairs of modern life.

Unfortunately, there are some workers who shun the duty of thinking out these "problems," and they, therefore, fall a prey to the plausible plea of the Anarchist, who misrepresents, besides misunderstanding, the views of the Socialist.

The difference of the Socialist, is that the difference between Socialism and Anarchism is simply one of methods—the end in view being the same. Far is this from being the case, however. The whole philosophy of the Socialist is at variance with the Anarchist position. A brief survey of the history of the Anarchist theory will make that clear.

The pioneer of Anarchism was Max Stirner, who, in "The Individual and his Property" (published in 1845), expounded the "philosophy" that lies at the root of all Anarchist teaching. The only "reality" that he recognised was that of the individual. In his own words:

"Away with everything that is not wholly and solely my own affair. You think that my own concerns must at least be good ones? A fig for good and evil! I am I, and I am neither good nor evil. Neither has any meaning for me. The godly is the affair of God, the human that of humanity. My concern is neither the Good, the Right, the Free, etc., but simply my own self, and it is not general, it is individual as I myself am individual."

Stirner's views may well be summed up as Idealism run mad. For him there was no such process as evolution in society and the majority of the institutions of social life were but phantoms. He starts with a pure abstraction, the individual, but this afterwards stands unmasked as an individual of the bourgeoisie!

It is in opposing Communism that Stirner—as is inevitable with the logical Anarchist—shows the bourgeois nature of his ideal.

"Communists think that the Commune should be property owner. On the contrary I am a property owner and can only agree with others as to my property. I am the owner of property but property is not sacred. Should I only be the holder of property? No, hitherto one was only the holder of property, assured of possession of a piece of land, but now everything belongs to me. I am the owner of everything I need and can get hold of."

Very Much Like Capitalism. If the Socialist says society gives me what I need the Egoist says I take what I want. If the Communists behave like beggars the Egoist behaves like an owner of property.

Stirner only objected to the State of his day

because it interfered with his freedom as owner of commodities. Individual "rights" and desires were alone to be regarded, and to maintain them he advocated the formation of "Leagues of Egoists." Shades of Individualism!

Stirner was followed by Proudhon, who took the same Utopian point of view. The whole mechanism of our social life is not the growth of more and more complex relations between man and man—developed through the connection established by industrial operations—but is born of men's ideas! "The political constitution was conceived and gradually completed in the interest of order for want of a social constitution, the rules and principles of which could only be discovered as a result of long experience, and are even to-day the subject of Socialist controversy." ("Confessions of a Revolutionist.")

Hence we see that epochs in human history are not viewed as necessary stages in the upward march of men from the time when, faced with only the elemental forces of nature, they slowly but steadily became masters of implements and powers, and by their influence arose the differing and progressing forms of social life. No, the Anarchist says that right down the ages men have been seeking the perfect society; but it is only discovered in all its charm and beauty, now—by the Anarchists!

The Utopian Spirit of Anarchism. Stirner and Proudhon have been dealt with to show the Utopian nature of Anarchism in all its majesty. Go right through the Anarchist writings, from Stirner to Bakunine and Kropotkin, and notice the same spirit through it all. Like all Utopians, they start out with an abstract principle, and endeavour to apply it so as to form a perfect society.

Proudhon plainly showed in his "Philosophy of Misery," the petty bourgeois nature of his "system." Individual ownership and control of the instruments of industry, with State regulation of prices so as to avoid industrial crises!

This great Anarchist even denounced Trades Unionism as an outrage against "the liberty of the individual." This is the man whom Kropotkin acclaims as "the founder of Anarchism."

Proudhon's theories underwent but slight change at the hands of his successor, Michael Bakunine, "the Apostle of Universal Destruction." Although claiming to believe in the common ownership of the means of life, his views demonstrated that Individual Anarchism is the only logical alternative to the opponent of Socialism.

At a Congress in Berne in 1869 Bakunine pleaded for "the economical and social equalisation of classes and individuals." This is the same as Proudhon's theory of the unity of Capital and Labour. Continuing, Bakunine said: "I detest Communism because it is the negation of

Liberty." The mental kinship of Bakunine with his Utopian predecessors is well established by his idealistic views. "I desire the radical extirpation of the principle of the authority and tutelage of the State, which has until now enslaved, exploited, oppressed and depraved men. I desire the abolition of property, individually hereditary, which is nothing but a result of the principle of the State."

Anarchism means of life has its roots, then, in the principle of the State!

Ignores Evolution. Bakunine's influence is very marked on his follower, the leading living Anarchist, Prince Kropotkin. Like the whole school of Anarchists, he ignores the trend of social evolution and invents a "perfect society" of the future. In the "Conquest of Bread" he says: "It is of an Anarchist Communist society that we are about to speak, a society that will recognise the absolute liberty of the individual." (Chap. XII.) In his address to the Jura Federation he said: "This ideal is not the product of the dreams of the study, but flows directly from the popular aspirations, that is in accord with the historical progress of culture and ideas." This metaphysical vein permeates all Anarchist teaching. Jean Grave, the prominent French Anarchist, in his "Moribund Society and Anarchy," tells us that the conceptions of Anarchists "are in harmony with the physiological and psychological nature of man and in harmony with the observance of natural laws, while our actual organisation has been established in contradiction of all good logic and all good sense."

The Socialist is a materialist, the Anarchist an idealist. The Socialist recognises social development as a consequence of the evolution of economic forces. The Anarchist view is well stated by Kropotkin in "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal," as follows: "The fact is that each phase of development of a society is a resultant of all the activities of the intellects which compose that society; it bears the imprint of all those millions of wills."

With the materialist conception of history as his guide, the Socialist correctly grasps the relation which prevailing institutions bear to the slavery of the working class. But turn to the bewilderingly vague writings of the Anarchists and you will find them filled with the most vain tirades against the State and every form of authority. "The State," "Authority," and "Law" are held to be the real causes of the workers' sufferings, and the immediate abolition of the State is said to be "the only way."

The Socialist Position. Against this the Socialist places the scientific position: The State is not born of a despot's ideas conceived and built up to do his bidding.

Frederick Engels, in his brilliant work "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," shows that the State, as we know it, is but the final form of an institution which fulfilled a useful service in the social economy of the past. It arose as a part of the division of labour in early societies, and carried on the administration of public affairs. The advent of private property in the means of producing wealth gradually influenced the form of the State till it became the instrument of the ruling class.

The State has been the State of the chattel-slave owner, the State of the feudal nobility, and now it is the State of the industrial capitalist. It exists to day because there is a class to be kept in subjection. When the present subject class become organised and seize political power, their supremacy will have sounded the death-knell of the State. The working class being the last class to achieve its freedom, its emancipation will end class distinctions: neither a dominant nor a subject class can exist when the ownership of the means of life is vested in the community.

Anarchists are fond of accusing Socialists of wanting to increase the power of the State. Marx and Engels are denounced by Kropotkin ("Conquest of Bread" and elsewhere) for this reason. Yet every student of these Socialist pioneers knows that they pointed out that when the toilers triumph the day of the State will be gone for ever. The Anarchist lament about tyranny under Socialism will be seen to be without foundation. Tyranny presupposes power, but when the instruments of production are commonly owned, power to oppress can no longer exist. Further, when wealth is no longer privately owned there is no incentive to tyrannise. There are no clashing interests—the mainspring of tyranny.

All Anarchist conceptions are vitiated by their misunderstanding of the nature of society. W. C. Owen, in the pamphlet "Anarchy versus Socialism," says: "Anarchy concentrates its attention on the individual, considering that only when absolute justice is done to him or her will it be possible to have a healthy and happy society. For society is merely the ordinary individual multiplied indefinitely." The Socialist, on the contrary, holds to the view accepted universally in scientific circles to-day, viz., that society is something more than a number of individuals—society is an organism. Even the great anti-Socialist, Herbert Spencer, proved conclusively the organic nature of society.

As the result of their erroneous view, the Anarchists are wholly concerned with the individual. "Absolute liberty of the individual" is their cry. Ever busy discussing the "rights" of the individual and the tyranny of other than individual control of affairs, they lose sight of the importance of the economic necessities of society itself.

Consider the possibilities and needs of modern life. A great population covers the globe. These people need "food, clothing, and shelter" and a hundred and one other things that centuries of economic advance have accustomed them to and made part of their standard needs. How are these things to be supplied? What are the means at our disposal? To provide the things required the great machinery, etc., has to be used in accordance with the best and most productive methods. Association of the wealth producers is an imperative necessity of the future. This involves the organisation of industry, the division of labour, and the arrangement of processes in proper sequence. The distribution of wealth has to be organised, too, otherwise chaos and starvation ensue.

This is where Anarchism plainly fails, for it repudiates the very mainspring of organisation. It proclaims each individual a law unto himself. It stands for the universal play of "free agreement." Apply that to industrial life and see how it would work out.

If the production and distribution of social necessities were to wait on the "free agreement" of all the industrial population to certain methods being pursued; if industry were to depend upon the whim and caprice of the members of society, then Nemesis would await us. The running of a railroad, the sailing of a ship, the building of a bridge, all these involve centralised control and speedy action.

The Socialist does not advocate Socialism as

"the perfect system." He seeks but to adapt institutions and customs to the changes in the mode of producing wealth. He claims that, subject to evolution, therefore, imperfect though it be, it is the best system possible in the circumstances that face us.

The common ownership of wealth is decreed as the only alternative to private ownership, and the method of production conditions the method of control. Democratic control is the complement of communal ownership. The Anarchist hates democracy, while the Socialist takes it for his constant guide. The Anarchist rejects the view that the emancipation of the workers must be the work of the masses, and believes that the action of an "intelligent minority" suffices. The rest will be carried along. Autocracy is the logical outcome of his method, and reaction the inevitable aftermath. Majority decisions are anathema to the Anarchist. He asserts that "the majority have ever erred." Let us again quote Owen's pamphlet.

"If the workers were to come into possession of the means of production to-morrow, the administration, under the most perfect system of universal suffrage—which we attained in this country years ago, and have been vainly trying to doctor into decent shape for generations past—would simply result in the creation of a special class of political managers, professing to act for the welfare of the majority. Were they as honest as the day, which it is folly to expect, they could only carry out the dictates of the majority, and those who did not agree to those dictates would find themselves outcasts."

How do the Anarchists propose to administer affairs? How are means of production to be controlled? Kropotkin, in "Anarchist Communism, its Basis and Principles," says they "must be managed in common by the producers of wealth." Though freely denouncing democratic methods the Anarchists never face facts and state how the socially owned means of production are to be "commonly controlled" except through democratic channels (i.e., "under the most perfect system of universal suffrage"). Individualist-Anarchism offers the only retreat for the "Anarchist-Communist," and this involves the individual ownership and control of wealth producing instruments. In other words, the evolution of industry and the immense amount of wealth now required for our use must be ignored, and we are to return to handicraft and petty enterprise!

Democracy, to the Socialist, does not only mean the counting of heads. It implies opening all the means of knowledge to the entire population; giving access to every source of information and advancement to all—thus ensuring, as far as is humanly possible, that the vote is the deliberate expression of the will of equals. And if all do not agree, then ample justification exists for acting on the decision of the majority in matters of social importance. There is no other way. The minority are ever free to try to change the opinions of the majority, but they must loyally abide by the supreme views in the meantime. Without this all organisation is impossible, whether its ramifications extend to society or are extremely limited.

Though the Anarchists condemn democratic procedure, by stating that nobody can represent us but ourselves, they have to destroy their own theory when they begin to act. Of course, such times are very infrequent, but one such occurred at the last Anarchist congress (Amsterdam, Aug. 1907). There representatives of various bodies in different countries attended, and besides voting, they constituted an International Bureau "composed of five delegates." ("Freedom" report.)

That is the Anarchist tribute to the soundness of Socialist criticism. It must be obvious that great populations cannot come together and discuss and arrange all matters in detail, but must delegate their authority to representatives. Though the "Referendum" and "Initiative" are serviceable methods, they must be supplemented by delegation when occasion demands. Even the first two methods turn on majority rule in the last analysis.

In economics the Anarchist rivals the Anti-Socialist in misrepresentation of the Socialist position. Kropotkin attacks Marx (in "The Wage System") for advocating the use of labour notes as a method of paying wages under Socialism, in spite of Marx's repudiation of them in

his "Critique of Political Economy" and the "Poverty of Philosophy."

Marx and Engels analysed capitalist society and laid bare the process of exploiting the working class. In his three great volumes on the Production and Circulation of Capital, Marx demonstrates the true nature of Value, Price, and Profit, and buttresses his own theories by quotations from the classic writers of the nineteenth century. Yet the Anarchist "economists" continually accuse him of accepting the views of Smith, Ricardo, and others, without independent inquiry!

"It was from Malthus' supposed law of population that Ricardo deduced his famous theory of rent which Henry George has made familiar to everybody, and on which Marx founded his 'Scientific Socialism'!"

Thus the Anarchist pamphlet "Anarchy and Malthus," by C. L. James, published recently. In it we are also told that "the difference between Anarchism and Socialism as we usually understand the latter term is the difference between Malthus and Ricardo."

The whole pamphlet is typical of Anarchist confusion. Malthus' moonshine is supported, and no praise seems sufficient for the priestly defender of the most inhuman methods of capitalism used in its prime. Malthus is commended "with those who abolished slavery, repealed the Corn Laws, put an end to imprisonment for debt," and "established the policy of peace." Apart from this highly imaginative "history," the Anarchist forgets to remark that Malthus was mainly occupied with such things as opposing Poor Law relief "because it fostered the perpetuation of the unfit."

Kropotkin's "criticism" of the Marxian Surplus-Value theory is remarkable. He says ("Conquest of Bread"): "The evil of the present organisation is not that the 'surplus-value' of production passes over to the capitalist—as Robertus and Marx had contended. Surplus value itself is only a consequence of more profound causes. The evil is that there can be any kind of 'surplus value,' instead of a surplus not consumed by each generation."

Kropotkin and his followers also attack Marx for his scientific theory that control over capital concentrates into proportionately fewer hands along with its expansion. This is so plainly seen to-day that it is superfluous to deal with the Anarchists' denial.

In the foregoing the unsentimental and visionary character of Anarchist "philosophy" is established beyond cavil. Anarchism attracts to its ranks a motley gathering. Its lack of cohesion, its individualism and its Utopianism, have enabled it to embrace the most ill assorted set of votaries that ever nestled under one banner. From the proud Prince Kropotkin to the official John Turner, it includes supporters of every movement but ours. From Malthusians to anti-morganatic marriage apostles, advocates of eight-hour and other piece-meal reforms, supporters of the Liberal Government like Morrison Davidson, and of the Labour Party like Edward Carpenter—these are the revolutionary Anarchists!

The Anarchist ranks have steadily dwindled in Britain, and their members apathetically drop away. Its Press makes a sporadic appearance. Accusations of being police spies lead to continual recrimination and permanent distrust among the "comrades." Hence Anarchism's decline, and its inability to organise the working class.

But still the danger exists that those workers who have been sickened by the compromise, confusion, and betrayal of the Labour and pseudo-Socialist parties may succumb to the plea that because the fake political parties have failed to help them and advance their cause, Socialism is useless and Anarchism the only hope. Those who follow in the Anarchists' footsteps and ramble in the Utopian wilderness, but delay the time when they must inevitably come to see that the Socialist Party of Great Britain alone is sound, for its aims are revolutionary, its methods scientific, and its working democratic.

Loyalty to its principles and devotion to its aims will do far more to hasten the workers' emancipation than the will-o-the-wisp notions of Anarchists and the dangerous policy they pursue. But the latter must be dealt with in the next issue.

(To be Concluded.)

A. KORN.

NAKED AND UNASHAMED.

THERE is an old adage running somewhat to the effect that when men of doubtful honesty have a difference of opinion, then is the time for honest men to come by their own. The Labour Party, through its prominent members, who appear at the moment to be very much at variance, enables us, by means of its internal squabbles, to give further proof of our contention as to its utterly incompetent and fraudulent methods; enables us to show, once again, how much—or rather, how little—reliance can be placed in its vaunted independence of the Liberal party and policy.

As is well known, for years past, in and out of Parliament, the members of the Labour Party have vehemently protested their independence, have repudiated with indignation and scorn any suggestion of a coalition between them and the Liberals. Now, however, it would seem that the object for which they have been striving and intriguing is near enough to accomplishment to render any further disguise on their part unnecessary. They stand condemned, not from the words of the S.P.G.B., but out of the mouth of one of their most prominent leaders, who, for reasons of his own, wishes still to pose as an incorruptible.

Mr. Philip Snowden, writing in the "Labour Leader" of June 14, referring to the vote of the Labour Party the previous Thursday on the Financial Resolution of the Insurance Bill, says: "Six members of the Labour Party voted against that resolution; the majority supported the Government."

"The Labour Party had amendments down to raise the contribution of the State from 2d. to 3d. They had others which proposed to increase the benefits. The Financial Resolution submitted by the Government was designed, as Mr. Lloyd George frankly said, to rule out every amendment which would increase the State's contribution."

"In answer to a question the Chairman said that if the Resolution was passed it would not be permissible to move the Labour Party's amendments. Yet in the face of this the official spokesman of the Labour Party, after joining with the Unionist speaker in condemning the resolution, and after condemning the State's 'inadequate contribution,' announced, not that the Labour Party would vote against it, or abstain, but that they would support the resolution which killed every one of their amendments worth trying to get!"

"If the I.L.P. will stand this it will stand anything. If it submits to this it is time to go into voluntary liquidation as a preliminary to affiliating with the National Liberal Federation. The official Labour Party is now indistinguishable from the official Liberals. The Labour Whip was put on to send the Labour Members into the lobby to destroy their own amendment."

Further, in "The Christian Commonwealth," July 12, he writes with reference to this same amendment: "There was never a clearer case of men deliberately putting an halter round their necks. . . . The Labour Party was instructed by the Conference which met three weeks ago to proceed with that amendment."

"But when the test of its independence came, when it was called upon to choose between obeying the instructions of its own conference and supporting the Liberal Government on an occasion when the Tories were not voting, the Labour Members, with about half-a-dozen dissentients, showed that they were more anxious to follow the Liberal Whip than to obey the authority from which they profess to derive their mandate. This action on the part of the official Labour Party finally completes their identity with official Liberalism."

This righteous indignation on the part of Mr. Snowden is rather amusing when one considers that it emanates from the man who, but a short time ago, was eulogising the honesty of Mr. Asquith, defending the action of the Liberals in sending the military to shoot down the workers at Belfast and Featherstone, and who was only returned to Parliament with the aid of Lord Morley and by Liberal votes.

If further evidence is needed of the betrayal of their followers by these leaders of "Labour," it can be found in a recital of their doings dur-

ing the recent Coronation festivities. As was pointed out at the recent I.L.P. conference, a Labour Party representative was allowed to serve on the Committee which sat in connection with the Coronation celebration. At the Coronation ceremony itself Messrs. Mullin and Davis attended on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress; Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, "in faultless morning dress, disquietingly like a labour leader" ("Christian Commonwealth"), also graced the ceremony with his presence.

The sycophantic attitude of the Labour Party to Royalty is still further illustrated by the appearance of the Chairman of the Labour Party at the luncheon party given by the Secretary of State for War in honour of William II. of Germany. Mr. MacDonald went to the luncheon with the consent of the Labour Party, thus becoming its official representative. It might well be asked what a member of the Independent Labour Party, which a few months previously had been indulging in what was called "a great anti-war campaign," and who himself had taken a prominent part in the campaign, was doing in such a gallery. He had as fellow guests, such lovers and advocates of peace as the war-lord of Germany himself, Count Matternich, Gen. von Plessen, Admiral von Müller, Lord Kitchener, and numerous others. Did the Kaiser and the Labour leader discuss, during their long conversation, the brutal repressive measures that have been taken in Germany, even in recent years? Did Mr. MacDonald mention, for example, the ruthless manner in which the police shot down men, women, and children at the end of September last year during the strikes in Berlin? Possibly, however, these small troubles of the working class slipped his memory—the memories of Labour leaders are conveniently short upon occasions.

Again, at the recent investiture of the Prince of Wales, it might reasonably have been supposed that the official representatives of Labour would have no part. At the time this investiture was taking place, on the hillsides and in the valleys of South Wales were thousands of locked out and striking miners, fighting what must, unfortunately, inevitably be a losing fight with the powers of capitalism. The distress prevalent among these men and those immediately dependent upon them was appalling in its intensity. One would have thought that in common decency the least Labour representatives could have done would have been to refrain from identifying themselves with the symbols and regalia of the flaunting wealth of capitalism. But no! In the procession formed to do honour to the boy Edward, among other Welsh M.P.s, walked Mr. Keir Hardie, the Rt. Hon. W. Abraham, Mr. William Bruce, Mr. J. Williams, and Mr. T. Richards. So glad were these men to be allowed the opportunity of licking the boots of Royalty, so eager were they to be acclaimed loyal subjects, that less than nothing to them were the starving men and women whom they have the audacity to claim to represent. The insult contained in this wanton callousness could not very well be greater.

The Labour Party appear to have thrown off all disguise. What does this kow-towing to kings and princes, this servile waiting upon the Liberal party, portend? Perhaps the following paragraph, which appeared in the "Daily Chronicle" of 19 July, may throw some further light on the subject.

"The Ministry of Labour Bill, the text of which was issued yesterday, has for its object 'to establish a Ministry of Labour for the better organisation of the labour market, for the prevention of unemployment, to regulate and in certain cases prohibit child labour, and to establish a general minimum wage for adult workers.'"

"The salary of the Minister is placed at £5,000 a year, 'and to the secretary, assistant secretary, officials and servants such salaries as the Treasury may from time to time determine.'"

"The Bill, which is presented by Mr. Lansbury, is supported by Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Jowett and Mr. Snowden."

The vultures are gathering together about the carcass and have already started fighting among themselves for the choicest tit-bits. They are welcome to the spoil. The present writer, however, for one, finds that even the thought of its putridity is almost too nauseating for his mental digestion. Would that the whole working class could say the same.

F. J. WEBB.

SOME PADDINGTON ACTIVITIES.

THE Paddington Branch have been busy in the work of expounding Socialism, to the dismay of those pusillanimous purveyors of capitalist platitudes that crowd the street corners nightly.

A somewhat protracted discussion has been raging in the local paper on the "evils and perils of Socialism." It originated in an enquiry from a correspondent as to whether Socialism was atheistic or not. This elicited the following from an I.L.P.er: "As chairman of the Paddington I.L.P. I feel somewhat responsible for the opinions that are being circulated in the district concerning the philosophy we are organised to teach. Now I and all Socialists wish it to be clearly understood that Socialism has nothing whatever to do with atheism or religion; in the Socialist movement we have every cult under the sun." He also claimed that the I.L.P. had made Socialism a practical working theory by forcing local authorities to municipalise gas-works, trams, etc., and getting old-age pensions granted by the Government, and the Workmen's Compensation Act put on the Statute Book. These things, they claim, are steps in the right direction.

A letter from our Branch was inserted, repudiating the right of this I.L.P. chairman to speak in the name of Socialism, since his letter made it clear that he was intent upon keeping the working class confused on this matter.

The discussion afforded opportunity for certain individuals priding themselves on their "Socialism," to flatter their honesty at the expense of their intelligence. They attempted to deflect the discussion from its course with an outrageous mass of biblical quotations and hoary superstitious illusions that exposed their duplicity to those who recognise the irrepressible antagonism that exists between the master and his slave. The materialist conception of history was cited as showing that Socialism and religion are not synonymous terms, but are as incompatible as fire and water. The new pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion," was forced upon their attention. Yet, when the Socialist seeks to dispel the rhetorical dust kicked up by these professional misleaders, he is met with mutterings of "materialism will not do"; "Socialism is not based on science—only on a part of it"; "Socialism has nothing to do with materialism," and so on.

Of course, these frauds strenuously resist the light of science, for it is only because the workers are steeped in ignorance that the Labour crooks are able to climb over their backs into "jobs."

The Anti-Socialist Union was also represented in the discussion by a person who held classes for anti-Socialist speakers in the district. The amount of preposterous piffle with which he sought to stifle the subject clearly proved that, being unable to refute the arguments for Socialism, he was compelled to resort to deliberate lying and misrepresentation in order to combat us.

Our forthcoming week's mission will afford us the opportunity of exposing the utter cant and humbug of all these champions of confusion.

The Clarion Van has been in our midst doing its dirty work of spreading confusion and despair among the working class. The lecturer had the brazen effrontery to state, on a platform over which the word "Socialism" shone like a beacon, that at the last three elections he had voted Tory to further Socialism. He did this to balance both parties, to play off one against the other and so gain concessions for the Socialist!

We want all Paddington to come to our week's mission (and also our regular meetings) and hear what we have to say on the matter. We guarantee they will hear Socialism explained in clear and cogent phraseology that will be understood by everybody.

BEN CARPENTERS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Weekly People" (New York).
 "New York Call" (New York).
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
 "The New World" (West Ham).
 "Freedom" (London).

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,



TUESDAY, AUG. 1, 1911.

THE BETHNAL GREEN BUNGLE.

That stale old wheeze, the "three-card trick," has been worked off on the electors of South West Bethnal Green. You know the process—as an onlooker, of course. Three cards are performing simple evolutions, and a flat comes along and tries to "find the lady." He turns up a card—a knave; he tries again—another knave. About the time his money has all gone the flat becomes convinced that he has been trying to pick "the lady" from among three knaves.

At Bethnal Green the three cards were Masterman, Hoffgaard, and Scurr. In view of the law of libel, which exists to protect those whose actions will not stand the light of day, we are not going to use hard names, but whichever of those cards you turn up forces you to exclaim: "got him again." The workers of Bethnal Green tried Masterman—and they got the man who presided over the "secret" commission the Government were compelled to appoint to enquire into the treatment of the workers' children committed by the magistracy to that diabolical inferno, the Abkirk Nautical Reformatory.

How this commission whitewashed the Home Office (which had deliberately shut its eyes to sworn statements concerning the inhuman brutalities of this institution flourishing under Government support, and had only moved under a strong fire of criticism), and issued a Report in which the evidence was garbled—this makes one of the most noisome pieces of history that could befall any age or country. Even the late member for South West Bethnal Green, whom the Liberals have raised to the Bench in order to find a seat for Masterman, declared in the House of Commons that it was one of the most glaring and disgraceful cases of "whitewashing" he had ever known.

Of course, the Labour Party served this "fighting democrat" a good turn, for when he was attacked over the reformatory affair he retorted that only 17 members of the Labour Party voted against the Government, the rest voting for.

The Tory candidate, Mr. Hoffgaard, anti-alien, Tariff Reformer, and Strong Navy advocate, was as little worthy of support.

Mr. J. Scurr ran as a "Socialist and Labour" candidate. The S.D.P. in their manifesto ("Justice," 22.7.11) state that "at the desire of the Bethnal Green Branch and a number of dissident Radicals" they have put Scurr forward.

After criticising Masterman, "Justice" says: "No wonder the Radicals of South-West Bethnal Green resent having this person foisted upon them. We are affording them the opportunity of showing their resentment in a practical way, by supporting"—Scurr!

And over 5,000 electors seized the opportunity of going to the poll to show their resentment at having Scurr foisted upon them.

Scurr opened his election address with the statement that he came forward "at the request of a considerable body of electors." He got 134 votes. So events proved that, true to S.D.P.

traditions, he sought the electors' suffrage with bluff and deceit. These 134 votes cost over £1 apiece, and in view of all the facts—that there was no attempt to use the opportunity for Socialist propaganda, and that the most the S.D.P. could have hoped for was to let the Tory in—it would be interesting to know who paid the cost.

The methods used to obtain votes for Scurr were utterly contemptible. He said in his address: "I believe in Legislative Independence for Ireland, and should support the Irish Party in any action they may take if a Home Rule Bill is introduced." That, of course, was a sop for the Irish. But for any professing Socialist to promise to support the Irish in any action they may take is nauseous, for from O'Connell's day to the present the tactics of the Irish Party have been reactionary. He fishes for Nationalist votes by stating that he has been member of the E.C. of the United Irish League. In "Justice" (July 22) he says there is no bar to a Catholic becoming a Socialist.

Scurr angles for Radical votes by recording that he has been Lecture Secretary of the Metropolitan Radical Federation and Executive Council of the English Land Restoration League.

Various leading lights illuminated Mr. Scurr's platform. Hyndman and Quelch, the strong navy champions; Victor Grayson, the bombastic assistant on Blatchford's sinking ship; Hunter Watts, that founder of the S.D.P. who in 1903 supported Masterman because he thought his opponent a scoundrel—what discrimination!—and even Belloc, of the Anti-Socialist Union.

The latter, being a rabid Catholic, was expected to influence the very considerable body of Catholic electors, and being a disappointed man, deprived of his seat by the official Liberals, he was very wroth against their nominee, and did his best to lure the Radicals from his side.

Scurr issued an election leaflet a reprint of "An Open Letter to a Bethnal Green Radical," which appeared in Belloc's newspaper, the "Eye Witness." A passage says: "It is in your power to resist and to resist without violating your traditions. You would not, perhaps, choose to vote Tory."

Well, you have your alternative. There is a third candidate in the field—Mr. Scurr. You may not agree with his opinions on abstract economic Socialism. But you know very well that the Nationalisation of the means of production will not come within the next few years: you stir yourself to prevent it, may, and probably will. A vote for Mr. Scurr means a vote for democracy and for the right of electors to choose their own member. A vote for Mr. Masterman means a vote for the Caucus.

"Justice" (July 20) says: "Those Radicals should certainly be influenced by the article reprinted from the 'Eye Witness'—'An Open Letter to a Bethnal Green Radical.'"

So did these very revolutionary Socialists (!) of the S.D.P. join hands with a virulent Anti-Socialist Unionist, sit cheek by jowl with the man who said (Catholic Truth Society's Conference, 1909): "He believed the prime political struggle of the future would be between his Church and the Socialist organisations."

The Right of Property, the Catholic Church maintained, was exterior to and superior to the mere enjoyment or use of the thing possessed.

The owner may be a bad man, and the thing owned may be of very little use to him and of great use to someone else, but to deprive him of it would be an offence, not only against him, but against the Power that created both him and you.

the fundamental principle of property must not be denied." It is the same old dirty game of treachery, of lending (or should we say hiring?) themselves to the Tories, of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers, who, as they become more enlightened, find they have no use for the S.D.P. and its filthy methods.

It is gratifying to find the attempt to drag the name of Socialism in the mire meets with such small success.

We shall have ready in a few days a report of the debate between Comrade Fitzgerald and Mr. A. H. Richardson, M.P. Order now. 32 pages, 1d. Post free 1½d.

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

POLICE BRUTALITY IN MANCHESTER.

The tranquility of the city of Manchester has recently been disturbed, owing to the somewhat militant attitude adopted by its carters, to obtain the outrageous wage of 25s. per week.

The capitalist Press, ever ready to paint in vivid colours the vices and shortcomings of the proletariat, has enjoyed itself immensely: the strike has given the smooth-tongued, facile-penned journalist data sufficient to fill a thirty-two page liar chock full. Proprietors have revelled in the abundance and quality of the matter contained, and, of course, there is the increase of circulation.

But while they have deprecated the gluttony and greed of members of the working class demanding 25s. a week, they have poured vials of eulogy upon those patient and long-suffering individuals, the police. We read of them "doing their work admirably," and "under such great provocation," too.

There is, however, another side to this picture, a side hidden by our pure, non-partizan (!) Press.

We (by "we" I mean two Socialists) wended our way to the city's centre, really to study the psychology of the mob, and seeing a body of police patrolling a narrow street, we stood and awaited developments.

No one seemed inclined to bloodshed, and had not the facts been known one would have thought here was a coronation crowd waiting for the appearance of the King.

But presently a banana-skin hurtled through the air and alighted on a constable's helmet. It was enough. The policemen's nerves, strained to breaking-point by the terrible ordeal of having to stand scowling at a half-starved, unarmed mob, could stand no more. Their long-suffering patience collapsed, and at the command of an officer to "charge!" on came the myrmidons of the Law like a blue fury.

Waving their batons they swept the crowd before them, hitting right and left, one burly "slop" missing by a inch the head of a seven-year old boy.

The crowd rushed past, and as we were stationed against the wall we thought it advisable to stay there. Presently an old man, bent and unable to hurry, shuffled across the road. He gained the centre of the street when he was struck two severe blows on his sides by a couple of "patient" policemen, and fell to the ground.

My comrade was unable to restrain his sympathy upon witnessing this cowardly brutality, and he hurried to the old man's side, and turning to the constables, protested against such inhuman methods. No sooner had he spoken than he was struck down from behind, and lay bleeding in the road.

The following morning the Press reported that an old man had been trampled on by the crowd, and lay in a critical condition.

Another instance. "Where are you off to?" said an officer to a man with a work basket. "Home," was the reply. Then the uniformed brute took the poor fellow by the coat-collar and threw him back.

"I'm going home, sir," the victim of this rough treatment said, and for that he was dragged off to the police station, and next morning was fined 10s. 6d. for disorderly conduct.

"Police Entertained to Luncheon at the Exchange Café by Chief Constable," ran a heading in a Manchester paper.

"One knew that they would uphold the traditions of the police force, and one could not help but be delighted that no complaint whatever had reached the Chief Constable of any man amongst them."—Councillor T. Lewis (Manchester Chronicle, 10.7.11).

My comrade wrote a letter to the Press explaining the circumstances under which he was injured and uttering his protest, but that letter was never published. No wonder there are no complaints.

Occurrences such as these show plainly that the capitalist Press, like Law and the armed forces, is merely an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class to maintain their ascendancy, and shows once again the urgent need for, and the value of, the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

J. H. LAMB.

JOTTINGS.

"I understand that about twenty of the lastest recently discharged from the Wheatsheaf Works through the introduction of new labour-saving machinery, have this week each been handed a solatium of £10 by the Committee of the Wholesale Co-operative Society."

"Shoe and Leather Record."

* * *

Lucky dogs! I don't know which they ought to be most thankful for—Co-operation, or the fact that they are lasters. Now I'll tell you what I should do if I were a laster displaced by machinery, but with a solatium (blessed word) of £10 in my pocket.

I'd just let the machine do the work, and I'd last out on stout and oysters and rest till the old-age pension came along. Of course, one would have to be a pretty good laster to do it, but then what is the good of being a laster if you can't last?

* * *

Ireland is not the only subject of injustice. Mr. Douglas Hall, M.P., has discovered that the 'armless' (ask the Manchester carters), necessary copper is unjustly put upon on occasion, and he has taken up the cudgels on his behalf. He has entered into wordy warfare with Mr. Winston Churchill on the subject of the policemen's Coronation medals, for he thinks it a burning shame that the police force in the Isle of Wight should not have medals to commemorate the fact that they have done some work—of a kind.

The hon. member felt so strongly on the matter, and the pure flame of chivalry blazed up so strongly within him, that he was moved to get up a petition, and "in less than an hour" (says he in a letter to Mr. Churchill, which he also took the opportunity to get inserted in that excellent advertising medium, the "Isle of Wight County Times") he obtained 100 signatures of Members of Parliament to the appeal.

* * *

Since it was discovered at Belfast that the police cannot be relied upon to "bash" strikers while they have grievances of their own to brood over, quite a lot has been done to make "buttons" lie more comfortably. The policemen's Sunday rest is a case in point. It would be a pity to spoil all this for the sake of a few medals.

But I was forgetting—it may interest some of the workers who were lately bashed on the head by policemen at Tonypany, Hull, Manchester and other places, to learn that among the M.P.'s who signed the petition are those prominent members of the Labour Party, Mr. George N. Barnes and Mr. Philip Snowden.

Couldn't neither of these gentlemen be induced to get up a petition for the recognition of the extremely valuable services of the police who were sent to South Wales in connection with the colliery dispute? I am sure he could get the signature of every colliery-owner in Wales.

* * *

"The reason of the strength of Socialism was that it was so strenuous and uncompromising."

Thus the "Daily Chronicle" (13.7.11) reports Lord Selborne. It is very well said. Socialism must be uncompromising in order to be Socialism; it must be strenuous in order to be strong. It seems the I.L.P.-er and S.D.P.-er may learn something from a lord—I had thought they were incapable of learning anything from anybody.

If Lord Selborne will watch us and read the SOCIALIST STANDARD in the future as he has evidently done in the past, he will discover that there are other sources of Socialist strength.

* * *

The hopelessness of the workers' fight for anything else than Socialism (though, of course, the struggle must be kept up) is finely illustrated in the columns of the "Manchester Daily Dispatch" (10.7.11), wherein it is pointed out that owing to the carters' strike in that city there has been an unprecedented demand for motor lorries and waggons. The result has been that many firms have found these vehicles so economical, speedy and convenient that they are adopting them as rapidly as their demands can be met. It is claimed, and probably upon fair

grounds, that when the carters' strike is finished, many of the men will have no work to return to.

The tragedy of the workers' position under capitalism is that their struggles, and still more their victories, handicap them against their pitiless competitor, machinery. Though it does not justify resigning the fight, it is, nevertheless, a never-to-be-forgotten fact that the lower wages are the slower machinery advances.

There is but one escape from this—Socialism. I am not going to adorn the tale with a moral.

* * *

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at the Welsh Baptist Chapel, Castle Street, London, on June 25, is reported to have said: "No reform was ever brought about by the people who suffered only, but always through the help of those who profited nothing."

As it stands the statement is sheer nonsense, for it is just those who "suffer only" who gain nothing from reforms. However, ascribing this to temporary aberration (perhaps on the part of the printer), and reading the true meaning into the words (i.e., that reforms are never brought about solely by those who are to gain by them, but always with the help of those they will not profit), it seems to me that the statement is very near the truth.

I am not well up in the matter of reforms, but as far as my observations go they bear out the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I cannot call to mind any reform that has not solely benefited the ruling class, but to get which they have not sought and obtained the assistance of the gullible section of the working class.

* * *

Mr. Lloyd George also said upon the same auspicious occasion: "All the poverty of London was really at the door of religion."

How redolent of truth he was that fine summer afternoon. Some little correction, possibly, is needed, as with all general truths: but in the sense that religion is one of the chief pillars of the present system of robbery, the pronouncement is substantially correct—though the parson must think it is like the politician's darn'd cheek to go into the chapel and say so.

* * *

One more little selection from the same candid chin-wag. There was no stopping him when he got up the straight and narrow path of truth. You see he had escaped from the House of Commons, where only good, honest, downright lying is permissible, and he felt something of the wild exultation of the converted cannibal who has the good fortune to drop into a hut where they are boiling the missionary for supper. He spake unto the multitude thus:

"There is nothing between the people and tyranny but the spirit of the Christian Church."

That's just it—the vacuous, ethereal, ghostly, spirituous, spiritual spirit of the Christian Church—an intangible obfuscation of the foggy order that romps the land with a collection bag—a something just solid enough to hide the tyrant and his methods, but no sort of a foil against his mailed fist.

Yes, it is quite true that the spirit of the Christian Church is all that stands between the workers and tyranny, and that is one of the reasons the former cannot see who is hitting them.

* * *

The "Evening News" of July 15 has the following on the action of the Labour Party in voting for the Financial resolution of the Insurance Bill after protesting against it.

"It was a Labour Party
The 'Independent' sort—
Its manner bluff and hearty,
Its temper sometimes short.
It was its chiefest glory
Its manly breast to thump
And say for Rad. or Tory
It didn't care a dump."

"It had its fixed convictions,
Its views on what to do;
And knowing no restrictions,
It meant to see them through.
If, thinking these were novel
(And O, his lights were dim)
The Premier didn't grovel,
Well, all the worse for him."

"Amendments most extensive
It cheerfully designed:
Its manner was offensive,
But O, its heart was kind!
And when its speeches sprightly
The Chancellor had chid,
It touched its hat politely
And voted as he bid!" C. E. B.

So doth genius put the whole thing in a nutshell.
A. E. JACOMB.

THE CARDINAL POINT IN WAGES.

Writing editorially in "The Gas World" of July the 15th, a learned scribe asks how the cardinal point of wages in a certain locality and for a particular description of work, is determined.

Lord Robert Cecil, we are informed, delivered himself, at the last Co-partnership Conference, of some pearls of economic wisdom. The "ultimate" sanction of rates of wages payable, he said for instance, is the law of supply and demand, but the employers only know from time to time what wages they can afford to pay.

The clarity with which the scion of a noble house elaborated his case can only be compared with a good old-fashioned November fog. For he leaves the Editor of "The Gas World" rolling on the whites of his eyes and inquiring what determines wages.

"So far as we can see for the present," says the editor, "the principle of co-partnership does not touch this dictum."

May I ask the literary gentleman what laws determine the wages of the printers, compositors, and others whose labour produces that scintillating wonder of Bouverie Street, "The Gas World"? If the supply of these workmen was not equal to the demand, they could secure higher wages. If the supply and demand were equal and there was no surplus either way, then supply and demand cancel each other. Now take conditions as they really are. There is, today, a greater supply of labour-power than there is demand for. According to Lord R. Cecil, wages fall steadily *pro rata*, as the balance of labour-power exceeds the demand.

It is clear, however, that this is absurd, that something else is necessary to determine wages.

Before touching this let us consider what is necessary to permit of the issuing of a single copy of "The Gas World."

First we must have the raw material—paper, type, ink, etc. These, shovelled into a heap, would make a fearful mess, and though the resemblance to the editor's economics might be striking, its resemblance to "The Gas World" would be undiscernible.

The thing essential to the assembling of the raw materials in such manner that they will lure the wily coppers out of the pockets of a wide and ever increasing clientele is human energy.

Now in reckoning out the selling price of the paper it has to be considered that if the price is too high a competitor will be let in. This fact will keep the price down, just as a superabundance of labour-power will keep wages down.

But suppose a competitor does appear—is that fact going to run the price of the journal down to zero? No, you then begin to tot up the cost of production, and when you find that you are not making the necessary profit and have no chance of freezing out your rival, you think of the official receiver and cease publication. So supply and demand are not the only factors in the determination of price.

In the same manner wages, which are the price of labour-power, though fluctuating with supply and demand, find their "cardinal point" in something very different. That something is the necessary cost of subsistence—the cost, that is, of the production of the labour power.

If the noble lord is left with only supply and demand to determine wages, then, with the application of science in industry continually displacing labour and making the supply increasingly in excess of the demand, a time would be reached when the workers' wage would consist of air and daylight. This consummation of the dreams of the advocates of co-partnership is, however, too absurd for anybody but a lord.

SOUTHERNER.

HISTORY PROVES THE SOUNDNESS OF OUR POSITION.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, of all the political organisations in this country, is the only one which stands solidly and consistently for the attainment of the Socialist system of society. Others (meaning, of course, political organisations) have displayed that compromise and trading resulting either from ignorance of the worker's status under the present system, or from the fact that certain persons preferred personal aggrandisement to the straight path of a revolutionary party.

The innumerable instances quoted in the *Socialist Standard* and the S.P.G.B. Manifesto are sufficient evidence of the treacherous nature of parties who parade as Socialists. But the S.P.G.B., since the day it was formed, has ever insisted upon this basis as the essential to working-class salvation—the imperative necessity of

THE CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL MACHINERY.

The constant use by the capitalist class of that power to quell any semblance of revolt on the part of the workers; the endeavour to terrorise our class with demonstrations of military force, must be an indication of the value of the armed forces to the master class.

We of the S.P.G.B. realise, then, that the primary function of a Socialist party is to capture political power. What transpires after that will depend upon the democratic decision of an enlightened proletariat.

The record of incidents in the development of society should be a means of assisting the workers to realise how powerful, how necessary, is political control. History is a formidable foe to those who harbour Anarchist and reformist ideas. Generally speaking, the history of most countries, according to the majority of historians, is a record of the likes and dislikes of kings and queens and their favourites and paramours. Interesting as all this may be, it is not, and from a scientific standpoint cannot be considered to be, the history of the race. History to us is but

A SERIES OF DEVELOPMENTS

of all mankind, in which process one nation plays but a small part.

Further, unless we realise that the records of one epoch result from the actions of a previous state, and that our actions are but the inevitable growth from a condition in society precedent to us; unless we clearly grasp that fact, a correct view of history cannot be obtained. Moreover, the keener the investigation into history, the clearer becomes the position we, as a party, occupy in this country. For by historical reference we are more than fortified in our position. In fact, the Socialist Party are the only party who can justify their attitude by history.

To us every method of government, whether it be monarchical, autocratic, plutocratic, theocratic or "democratic," is tyrannical, since government implies a subject class in society. Let us get to the Athenian ascendancy for proof of this contention.

Athenian society originally was tribal. Later on the citizens were divided into classes principally on a private-property basis. Each section had political power corresponding to the volume of property it possessed. In Athens there existed a large population of propertyless slaves, who had no political rights of expression.

A remedy for such conditions being necessary, the famous constitutionalist and law-giver, Solon, so organised the political State that though the democracy had a voice, the aristocracy

WERE ALWAYS THE DOMINANT FACTOR

in Athenian political life. Nor was Athens the only State where such happenings were recorded, for after the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus—the last of the seven Kings—from Rome in 509 B.C., the Romans swore they would never have another monarch.

Admirable as that may have appeared, it was in reality a further means for the nobility to suppress the "lower orders." The Patricians and the Plebeians were really the Aristocracy and the Commons of the time. The latter had a split, and threatened to withdraw from the State unless there was some modification of the laws.

The masters (that is the controllers) of the political machinery, thereupon permitted a tri-

bunate to be appointed, who were invested with power to veto certain actions of the Patricians. Then came the "Licinian Rogations," due to combined action by the tribunes Licinius and Sextius.

From the economic standpoint those laws, passed about 367 B.C., had no great value, and were purposely introduced to give the aristocracy greater power. It caused discontent to be stifled by grants of land to the plebeians in all new territory conquered by the Romans. A later result of those laws was the extension of citizenship to the occupants of conquered cities, but with no political rights in the way of voting. The idea of the rulers in Rome was, "Keep what you like but let us have the political dominance."

With the development in Rome came, too, the intermarrying of wealthy Plebeians with the Patricians, with the result that the two sections became, socially and politically, a combination, and monopolised the public offices,

ALL AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT

of the day. Further, the constant usage of the political power had caused many acts which had been passed to become dormant. An instance is the Hortensian law of 287 B.C., which finally permitted the Plebeian tribes to make laws without the assistance of the Comitia Centuriata.

Another interesting matter is that though each city conquered by Rome was given local autonomy, in most cases they were subordinate to the officials appointed from Rome. That had a tendency to give loyalty to the Romans, who, as are the British with regard to Egypt and India, were simply inspired by the possession of private property in the interest of the ruling class.

After the futile endeavours of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, still another incident transpired that proves our contention conclusively. It was the reorganisation of the army by Marius, and after his death the actions of Sulla in using that army. The latter proved master of the situation because he had control of the army.

Let it be clearly understood that Rome was in a state of anarchy at this time. She was unable to master her possessions owing to the

GROWTH OF CORRUPTION

amongst the propertied classes.

Another fact illustrating the strength of the political power is afforded us by a reference to the actions of Constantine when he was at war with Maxentius and Licinius for control of both the Eastern and Western Empires. Maxentius was defeated at Myer's Bridge, and Licinius, who hated Christianity intensely, was anxious to become emperor. Constantine, knowing full well that Licinius had great power, made Christianity a State religion, by which means he got greater support than ever. But for that incident Licinius would have defeated him, and Constantine would have become a cypher. The political exigencies caused Constantine to extend his protection to the Christian or his power would have gone. With the support given him by converts to his curious mixture of Christianity and paganism he was enabled to overwhelm his rival and retain his throne.

Coming still nearer to the present time, we find that the wisdom of Charlemagne gives a voice in the government to the people. That voice was the bi-annual conferences he presided at "to hear the opinion of his people." His control was so great that at his coronation the pope paid homage to him.

Perhaps the history of England may be viewed profitably to show that, whatever economic power any class possessed, they were always at the mercy of those who possessed the political power. If it was economic power that was the prime factor, how was it the Roman Catholic dominance was destroyed by Henry VIII?

Perhaps it is unlikely that any Direct Actionist or other individual displaying

ANARCHISTIC TENDENCIES

would deny that the control of Parliament by Halifax and Cromwell caused a change in the British Constitution in 1649. A fact ever illuminating in history is that a class that had acquired great wealth were never free to utilise that wealth to its fullest advantage unless it had first the control of the political machinery. The severest impediment to the capitalist in this country was the control and monopoly by the landlords prior to the Reform Bill of 1832.

In order to give free and full development to

industry; in order to sanction and legalise the robbery of the working class; in order to cheapen the cost of production, the present capitalist class were compelled to get political control. But that was simply the act in the final development of capitalism. Then our capitalist went to Parliament himself, but now he is leaving his work to paid backs, lawyers, solicitors, and professional politicians.

The increasing productivity of the working class has solved the problem of production. Prior to the capitalist system the periodic panics and financial catastrophes were unheard of. Now we have them frequently, showing that even the ingenuity of the capitalist cannot avoid the ever intensifying control capital has over the capitalist. No longer can he control the profit system—the latter completely dominates him, and that is why the working class will have to take control of the political force. That this is evident one can see from the way the capitalist uses the political machinery. Strikes and economic eruptions,

"RIOTOUS OUTBREAKS"

as they call them, are squelched (where the starvation process is not sufficient) by sending armed forces into the disaffected districts.

We desire to obtain immediately a condition of society wherein we will enjoy all the means of life to the utmost advantage, and our fellow-slaves must be made conscious of it. The naval and military section of the working class can be made to understand that; and surely, when intelligence becomes uppermost in their minds, they will see that life under democratic control is much better than the rigorous discipline under which they exist at present.

Those who hold political power dominate the country in which they live. Therefore we strongly appeal to the working class to exercise their intelligence and to examine this question from the historical standpoint. The Socialist Party of Great Britain have never deviated from the scientific position since an examination logically leads to. It remains for you to put yourself in agreement with that position and to join us, and to assist in the spreading of working-class enlightenment. **MOSES BARITZ.**

MORE UNITY!

In July there was a bye election for a vacancy on the Woolwich Borough Council. The Woolwich I.L.P. ran one of their members, Mr. Jack Sheppard, as an "I.L.P." candidate. But a member of the adjacent Bexley Heath Branch named Barefoot stood as a "Labour" candidate. The happy spectacle of two I.L.P. candidates contesting one vacancy caused some consternation in the Labour camp, and the Bexley Heath Branch I.L.P. sent the following resolution to the "Woolwich Pioneer" (21.7.11):

"That we, the members of this Branch in meeting assembled, wish success to our fellow-member, Comrade W. Barefoot, the candidate of the organised workers of Woolwich, in his fight for a seat on the Woolwich Borough Council, and appeal to every loyal I.L.P.er, and to organised Labour, to rally to his support and secure a great victory on Tuesday next for the Labour cause."

"It further records its strong disapproval of the action of the Woolwich I.L.P. in helping to bring out a candidate to oppose one who has been a member of the Party for 15 years, and because we believe such action is contrary to the whole spirit of the I.L.P. constitution."

The Labourite Barefoot topped the poll with 815 votes, and the other Labourite mustered 27! That's how they educate the workers (particularly in the matter of unity) of Woolwich.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

HIGGINS (Philadelphia).—Next month.

J. RANDALL (London, W.).—Next month.

J. H. LAMB (Manchester).—Your points will be considered next month.

L. A. BOSTOCK (Forest Gate).—Cuttings received and contents noted.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

"LABOUR'S" TRAGIC TRIUMPH IN AUSTRALIA.

"LABOUR" Prime Ministers and "Labour" leaders of Australia have been prominent in Great Britain of late, owing to the Imperial Conference and the Coronation. They have fraternised with the Lords of Capitalism and rejoiced at the progress of the "greatest Empire (read vampire) the world has ever seen." All the enemies of Labour have gathered together to do honour to "these men who have risen from the plough." Amidst the eulogies of Asquith, Balfour, and the rest of the holy capitalist family, they have toured the country urging the propertyless wage slaves to emigrate to the scene of "Labour's triumphs," and so escape from the sufferings they encounter here.

The fact that a "Labour" Party controls the "Commonwealth," and is supreme in at least two States, has misled some into following their advice. But these unfortunate workers will have a rude and rapid awakening.

The Labour Government in the Australian *Private* wealth have a platform which includes the conversion of trusts into State monopolies.

Already in the Antipodes, although the population is sparse and the land to a great extent uncultivated, the great industries and services are becoming trustified. That is eloquent of the speed with which the newer lands are influenced by developments in the old.

The State ownership of such services as are already nationalised has been a mixed blessing to the toilers. New South Wales is the State of Labourism's greatest advance, yet the capital (Sydney) will be remembered as the centre of the great strike of State employed tramwaymen for "a living wage." State ownership is the refuge of the business men being crushed by the trusts.

"A White Australia" is another plank in the Labour platform. They have always had a particular preference for "White Slavery" as opposed to other hues. Yet a "White Australia" hasn't saved the workers from the ills that affect them in "open door" countries. Sydney, for instance, boasts of slums as hideous as the classic ones of the East End of London. The home-workers of Sydney are a frightful example of how capitalism crushes women, as well as men, in the land beyond the seas.

Employment in "White Australia" is precarious. The "Sydney Daily Telegraph" of May 26 contains the following news:

"Mr. A. Rickard, of Messrs. Arthur Rickard & Co., admits he received a surprise yesterday morning. He advertised for forty-one general labourers in the 'Telegraph,' and before noon he had several hundred applicants. When the office opened at nine o'clock there were dozens waiting and the number increased rapidly; they ran over the premises inside and jammed the door outside. Judging the men as a whole they were of the average hard-working type, and were mostly eager to accept the offered \$s. a day. We engaged 59 men, and could have had as many more had we wanted them." This in a country where the cost of living is more than double that in Britain, and where the rise in prices in the last decade has been phenomenal and is still advancing.

The Taxation of Land Values is a prominent feature of the Labour programme. Its existence in the Commonwealth has led to it being boomed here, and in view of Australia being the pet example of the "good" effects of land taxes, it would be well to show their real character and influence.

The great merit of land taxes is said to be the releasing of the land and bringing it within the means of the poor man. But the Labour Premier, Mr. Andrew Fisher, told a deputation from the London Chamber of Commerce that "land sold at prices quite as high as, if not higher than, those realised before the tax was passed," and the report ("Manchester Guardian," 14.6.11) goes on to say that "he asserted that since the tax was passed Australian credit had been higher than for many years before." In face of the criticism of land financiers he "denied that the tax was intended to be vindictive against anybody." Plaintively he asked: "Could anything be more offensive than to charge his Government with class legislation?"

Whether offensive or not, it is but true to

charge them with legislation benefitting the capitalist class. Their tax on land values has been warmly welcomed by the merchants and store-keepers of Australia (for it means a reduction of taxation to them), whilst the capitalist nature of their rule has been shown to all by their institution of compulsory military service to protect the property of Australian plutocrats from seizure by other nations. Conscription! How well it makes for the liberty of the worker in the "land of the free"! Liberty for the employer but continued slavery for the employed—that is the guiding principle of the Labour policy.

The brutal attitude they adopt towards workmen on strike is an instance of this. The Labour Party have control of the State legislature in S. Australia, and they have had many opportunities to show how they stand toward struggling Labour. At the present time down at Renmark, in the agricultural portion of the State, a fight is being waged by the fruit pickers in the endeavour to make their wages cover the increased cost of living. They have been met with the most bitter opposition of the Growers' Association—the organisation of the masters. The Government have helped the blacklegs and sent down armed police to protect them. The "Ade-laide Advertiser" published an interview on May 11 with Mr. Verran, the Labour Premier, who said: "There is no doubt whatever about the policy of our Government regarding industrial disputes. We stand straight for Compulsory Arbitration. We have no sympathy with Unions that profess a revolutionary tactical policy. Labour in our State has said the strike is a barbarous, out-of-date method of deciding differences between employers and employees."

"Then what are you going to do to prevent trouble like that being experienced at Renmark just now?" he was asked.

"Unfortunately we have no power now," was the reply. "But since the Federal Referenda have decided that local disputes are to be a State matter, my Government has decided to introduce a Compulsory Arbitration Bill. The principal provision of the measure will be to make every union and every association of employers register under the new law, and the Wages Board's decision must be observed, just as any other law is abided by. Once the two Houses of Parliament say all industrial disputes must be decided by law the strike will be treated as any other law breaker."

"What about the Right to Strike?" "There is no Right to Strike recognised," said Mr. Verran. "When a Labour Government is in power it is just as necessary to have law and order observed as at any other time."

"Then why does not your Government prevent lawlessness at Renmark?"

"We have taken every precaution to see that the law as we find it is carried out. It is not true that we hesitated regarding action at Renmark. The police authorities there have not asked for additional help. Indeed, they have reported that the police are sufficient to cope with any trouble. In spite of that, when we heard that there was likely to be something special happening there on a certain date, we sent two additional mounted police to Renmark. We do not fear any legitimate unionism, but the leaders in the Renmark strike are men with revolutionary intentions, who make no secret of their opposition to Labour. We have no necessity to pander to them in any way and we attack them openly. This class of opposition causes us no embarrassment."

In the same paper Mr. J. Murphy, the men's union organiser, says: "The police action is the result of bias against the workers. Ever since the Hon. J. P. Wilson (Labour Minister) took up his well-known attitude against the workers and the Hon. C. Vaughan (Labour Treasurer) backed him up, the Growers (masters) and 'scabs' have been very aggressive, as they know the Government are behind them." Speaking of the suppression of the men's meetings he said: "Our men are prepared to continue holding meetings of protest there against what we regard as the Russian tyranny of the Labour Government over this Free Speech question."

The employers' representative (Mr. R. Young), interviewed, said: "In future the employers' association will not employ any but non-union men or free labourers, as they are called. It appears to me that the Growers can get plenty

of non-unionist lands. My impression is that the Renmark Growers will always win, as they have won three times already, easily beating all opposition."

The damning indictment of Labourism these facts contain should make the workers ponder over the actions of the British Labour Party. The latter's praise of their Australian colleagues, in spite of their open hostility to struggling toilers, is but another of their many crimes. The workers of Australia are in the same abject condition that the English toilers stood in in the time of the Tolpuddle martyrs the days before the Combination Acts.

The Labour Parliament offer the workers Compulsory Arbitration—a method by which the capitalist arbitrator lets the wage slaves down every time. Compulsory Arbitration is such an overt fraud that the miners of Broken Hill and Newcastle (Australia) suffered imprisonment rather than agree to it.

The lesson for the working class is well pointed by these facts. They can hope for little while means of living are owned by the capitalist class and controlled by their henchmen, "Labour" or otherwise. At the 1911 Annual Conference of the Political Labour Leagues of New South Wales Mr. Verran (who attended) voiced the following sentiment:

"They must be exceedingly careful not to be intoxicated by their own success, and to remember that they were pledged to carry on the same social order as had developed up to the present time. **A. CLEVELAND.**"

TAKE UP THE SWORD.

War! Well, let it be War.
While an enemy stands in the way of what we desire!
Only the strong may aspire
To life in a land where the sword is the giver of law.

Then burn! O heart, burn! with the fire
Of unquenchable hatred and ire,
And tear with a maddened talon and claw
And win! or defeated expire.

Lo, they have taken the earth.
They have chained us to labour and heaped
us with sorrow and pain;
Have wrung out our blood to their gain.
They have sneered at our anguish and counted
it due to our birth
That we pull with the ox in the rain.
That we share in the flush-time of grain
With the shout, and starve with the sparrow
in dearth—
All our agonised labour in vain.

Oh! we have eaten our fill
Of the husk, and laid down long enough with
the oxen and swine;
We have drunk blood and tears for our wine,
And wept out the drops of our hope in the
merciless mill.
We have paid cruel toll in the mine—
Where the quick and the dead intertwine;
But now we are turning our backs to the swill,
Our breasts to the red battle line.

Those who bespoil us and take
The harvest we tear from the earth and drag
up from the deep.
Who, whether we wake or we sleep,
Plunge their beaks in our hearts in a blood-thirst
no blood-feast can slake.
They have taught us 'tis folly to weep—
The Law is to take and to keep
Who have power. Let them hear it who taught
it and quake!—
They have broken the dream of their sheep.

Take up the sword, then, and fight;
Having joy in the battle and faith in the
winning at last;
For the day of repining is past,
And the sun of our hope is dispersing the shadows of night.
Though we win to it slowly or fast,
The die of our destiny's cast.
They have taught us that only the will of the
mighty is Right
Then we will be mighty at last.

A. E. JACOMB.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, East Park Gates	11.30 A. Barker	J. Holmes	J. Halls	H. Joy
" Prince's Head	7.30 H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	H. Martin
Kennington, Brockwell Pk.	6.15 J. Holmes	H. Martin	A. Barker	H. Cooper
Clapham Common	3.30 H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	H. Martin
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 A. Pearson	A. Hoskyns	F. J. Rourke	C. Ginger
Finbury Park	6.30 A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 A. Battley	J. Nightman	C. Parker	F. W. Stearn
Kennington Triangle	11.30 J. Nightman	H. Martin	J. Halls	R. Fox
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 F. Dawkins	R. Fox	H. Martin	J. Nightman
" "	7.30 A. Hoskyns	F. Ryan	J. Fitzgerald	H. J. Halls
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. W. Stearn	C. Parker	R. Fox	A. Jacobs
Parliament Hill	11.30 J. Halls	F. J. Rourke	H. Cooper	R. Fox
Peckham Triangle	7.30 A. Barker	F. Leigh	A. Hoskyns	C. Parker
Stoke Newington, Eddley Rd., Dalies.	11.30 F. Ryan	H. Joy	C. Ginger	A. Barker
Tooting Broadway	7.30 J. Holmes	F. Stearn	J. Holmes	H. Joy
" "	7.30 H. Cooper	A. Hoskyns	F. Dawkins	A. W. Pearson
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Nightman	F. Leigh
" "	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	C. Ginger	F. J. Rourke	F. Ryan
Walthamstow, Church Hill	8.0 R. Fox	A. Barker	J. E. Roe	J. Holmes
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	" J. Nightman	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	J. Fitzgerald
Watford Market Place	7.30 F. Leigh	T. W. Allen	F. Leigh	A. Bartley
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. J. Rourke	A. Jacobs	R. Fox	A. W. Pearson
Woolwich, Beresford Sq.	7.30 F. Ryan	A. Bartley	H. Joy	T. W. Allen
Woolwich, Beresford Sq.	11.30 A. Jacobs	A. Bartley	H. Joy	T. W. Allen

Woolwich, Beresford Sq. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. (Peckham Triangle 8.30.)

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. (Peckham Triangle 8.30.)

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. (Peckham Triangle 8.30.)

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. (Peckham Triangle 8.30.)

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Hd., 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd, 8.30.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m.

Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cudman, Sec., 4, Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BURNLEY.—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Gocwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield-rd, Wandsworth. Branch meets Sats. 29 Thornsett-rd at 8.0. Rooms open every evening.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Avey, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to W. Wragg, Denton Hospital, Gravesend.

ISLINGTON.—S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Votley-road, Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd, Holloway, N.

LAMBETH.—H. Martin, Sec., 112, Gloucester Rd., Peckham, S.E. Branch meets Fridays, 8 p.m., at 38 Brixton-rd, S.W.

MANCHESTER.—T. McCarthy, Sec., 42, Gleden-st. Bradford-rd., Manchester. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4, Balfour rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Weds. at 7.30 at Cobden House, Peachey-st.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec., 14 Great Western-rd, Harrow-rd., W., where Branch meets Thurs. at 8.30 p.m.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to branch Secretary, Head office, pro. tem.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—T. W. Lobb, Sec., 42, Old-field-rd, Stoke Newington. Branch meets Mon. 8.15 at Lockhart's, 2, Dulston Ln (2nd floor).

THORNTON HEATH.—A. McIntyre, Sec., 29, Gillingham-rd., Thornton Heath.

TOOTING.—W. Walters, Sec., 7, Kenlor Road, Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Goringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—Communications to Sec., 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WATFORD.—P. Simons, Sec., 55, Church Road, Watford. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 75 Napier-rd., West Ham. Branch meets alt. Mon. 7.30 at Boleyn Dining Room, 459, Green St., Upton Park.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

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LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

BULLETS FOR BREAKFAST.
OR HOW THE WORKERS GOT WHAT THEY ASKED FOR.

WHEN the Press reports sensational episodes of the class war abroad—the Pinkerton massacre at Homestead, sabre-charge in the Moabit quarter of Berlin, and so on—the average “level-headed” Britisher gives another puff at his pipe and smiles a superior smile. Such vain excitement is reserved for the foreigner, you know.

British But lo and behold, in the year of grace 1911, the land resounds to the tramp of the myrmidons of the capitalist State. The police are found quite insufficient. Thousands of special constables—defenders of the rich, enemies of the poor—are summoned and armed. Practically the whole of the regular army, booted and spurred, with all the baggage of war, and with pouches full of ball cartridge, are put in the field—or rather, upon the streets and railways. And, as the sole likely billets for their bullets, stand half a million of these same, one-time level-headed, sensible, not to say docile, British workmen! “Who’d a thought it?”

It is the purpose of the present article to bring home to the workers the true significance of this use of the armed forces. At a time when already several persons have lost their lives, and many hundreds have suffered grievous bodily injury, no subject can be of greater concern to the working class.

To rail against capitalist inhumanity is simply futile. The appeal to sentiment, to ideas of justice and of liberty, leads nowhere. The rich, if they had any need, could logically reply that their right is as good as yours; that it is as inhuman and despotic for strikers to cut off the milk supply or to interfere with the “loyal” servants as it is for policemen to baton strikers.

Our capitalist, however, feels himself in a position to dispense with wordy warfare in these matters. He answers with imprisonment the innocent who, having helped overturn a loaded waggon, tells the magistrate that “we claim a right to do it.” This, at least, should bring home to the stiff backed worker the obvious, although oft-forgotten fact, that the striker’s notion of his “rights” and the view of the makers and administrators of the law are very different things.

The capitalist is fully persuaded that the law-breaking striker is a most wicked person. Has he not intimidated his fellow citizen and sought to hinder him in the exercise of his sacred “right to work”? Above all, has he not laid violent hands upon his master’s property—the “Great Taboo”?

The property—the “Great Taboo”?

Material thereby committing the greatest crime conceivable in the capitalist mind? To prison with him then!

Interest. Sabre him! Shoot him!

But the naive utterance of the worker is worth looking into. “We claim the right to do it,” quoth he. Clearly, the law acknowledges no

such right—nor priests nor schoolmen allow it. Nor can the employer recognise the striker’s right, for obvious reasons. The aggressiveness of it; the outrage upon property; the intimidation of the blackleg; all these run straight up against the employer’s material interest. The striker’s right is the master’s wrong. And, by the same token, the man’s action in doing his utmost, at all costs, to paralyse the employer’s business, in order to compel the granting of concessions, and his claim of an unlawful “right,” are but the expression of the worker’s material interest.

Here, then, is the veritable basis of their differing notions of morality—their opposed material interests.

To the master, the striker is an animal whose moral perversity requires punishment limited only by expediency. “Starve him and his into abject submission if we can; shoot them if—which God forbid—they get too threatening.”

To the man, the master becomes a heartless exploiter. The master’s ally, the “blackleg,” and that ally’s protectors and guarantors, the police and soldiery, become objects of hatred—deadly enemies.

Master and man have both had their dose of “gentle Jesus.” Both have swallowed the “Decalogue” and mumbled the “Lord’s Prayer.” Both have imbibed in childhood the notion of a heaven-sent morality—have been taught to

“know the right” and to “reject the evil.” But in face of the stern facts of capitalism—the opposition of material interests—these assiduously taught ideas gradually evaporate, and differing ideas of right and wrong, corresponding to differing material interests, take their place. The day comes when the oppressed, instead of “offering the other cheek to the smiter,” turns and lays about him. He meets the oppressor’s allies—the strikebreaker, the policeman, and the soldier. In the hot passion of strife he seeks to vindicate his claim to a better existence. Some of him realise, in the face of all this, the futility of the babble of “rights,” and they seek—the night. They seek it, not to win a fleeting halfpenny per hour, but in order to end the oppressor’s trade once for all—to rise out of the realm of wares into that of free manhood.

These are the Socialists. However, to get back for a moment to our simple-minded striker. He faces the majesty of the law only to find that the capitalist’s right is preferred. He goes to jail. Twere strange if it were otherwise. The law is enacted by a Parliament composed of property owners, employers, their business connections and hangers-on. A tribe interested in keeping wages low; interested in providing a reserve of unemployed workers, interested in breaking strikes. It is administered by a judiciary drawn from the

same class with like interests.

Judiciary, priesthood, army, navy, police—practically all departments of the State, are at the disposal of the employer as his interest may require. But this remains the case to day only because of the acquiescence of our striker and his fellow workers. The direction of the State organisation is deliberately placed in the hands of the masters at every election by the working class, who have the majority of the votes. In other words, the workers accept the order of things which obtains and

Reaping of the masters at every election by the majority of the votes. In other words, the workers accept the order of things which obtains and

what they vote themselves broken heads—vote themselves hard labour—vote themselves perdition.

Sow. With regard to the methods of the armed forces, it is as well to have on record in the

SOCIALIST STANDARD, the following excerpts from a report in that leading Liberal organ, the *Manchester Guardian* (August 14). This account of the conduct of the police on the occasion of the great public meeting held on “the Plateau,” at Liverpool, on Sunday, 13 August, is of such importance as to justify a somewhat lengthy reprint here, and demonstrates the utterly brutal depravity produced in those engaged in doing the dirty work of Capital.

“At a quarter past four the strike leaders and the few police officers present were congratulating themselves that a meeting of about 70,000 workers was ending very peacefully. But fifteen minutes later the huge square resembled a battlefield, and wounded men, some of them looking to be dead, were being taken down side streets or into any place that would offer shelter.”

When the crowd began to run “the police immediately gave chase, and heavy blows with truncheons were showered on nearly all who came within their reach. In some cases discrimination was exercised, but hundreds suffered severely. In some cases the blows were so brutal that men who had seen them delivered called out that it was murder. Men who seemed as if they could have no connection with the labour dispute were crushed down to the ground like nine-pins. Heads were cracked and blood flowed so freely that it was impossible to move more than a yard or two without seeing some of the splashes on the ground. Men pulled off their belts and used them with heavy effect, but neither bricks, staves nor bats could stop the conquering rush of the police.”

Even when the crowd was separated into groups the police continued their onslaught.

Policemen They used their truncheons mercilessly, and some could be seen taking delight in aiming at the backs of men’s heads before giving them blows which, despite the din, could be heard yards away.

getting It was when nearly all the crowd had been dispersed that the worst scene of all occurred, and that brutal, unnecessary blows were struck

Experience.

by some policemen, mostly young and probably inexperienced. The steps of the hall had been crowded with men and a few women interested in the demonstration. The orders given for the steps to be cleared led to incredible scenes. At the top is a wide stone platform with iron railings to protect the ends, where there is a sheer drop of 12 feet. When the police charged up the steps they had the people in a trap from which escape was possible only by dropping through the railings to the flags below. Hundreds realised that this was the only thing to do, but in a few seconds the policemen had won their way to the railings, and the men, women, and young boys and girls were pushed past them and over the edge as rapidly and continually as water down a steep rock. The officers could be seen using their truncheons like flails. Dozens of heads were broken and many shoulders and arms received blows the marks of which will remain for many a long day. And of those who escaped the blows many were hurt by the fall. It was a display of violence that horrified those who saw it.

Mr. W. H. Quilliam, solicitor to the Mersey Quay and Railway Carters' Union, who was on No. 1 platform, stated that "having a great experience of Liverpool disorders, I am firmly of the opinion that had the police kept out of the way and not interfered with the youngsters, the crowd would have remained perfectly quiet. In fact, the police made numerous charges before the men became infuriated. It was evident the police knew they would be backed up by the military, or the few to be seen at first would not have adopted such violent tactics."

"Councillor Short, a member of the Bootle Watch Committee, who was on the second platform, said it was remarkable that the crowd remained quiet so long considering the provocation that was given."

The "Guardian" further says: "The number of injured must be quite a thousand."

This truly extraordinary perpetration of the civil arm can only be explained by the nature of the police training, and the men's consciousness that they are segregated from the rest of the working class for the defence of the property class; to which class, indeed, they have learned to look for subsidy and commendation.

In order, however, to avoid giving the false impression that the Socialist views the soldier and the policeman as hopelessly dehumanised wretches, it is as well to recall an instance of kindly action on the part of the police. This is the case, where two policemen jumped in to rescue a striker who, in an exciting scuffle, had fallen into a canal. Such incidents help maintain the human relationship, and remind us that we count on the armed forces some day, and if necessary, turning their weapons upon those who are their enemies and our's—the exploiting class.

That is the consummation to be desired but surely not to be expected while the workers still toady to the master class.

However, the following news items would seem to show that some of the governing class feel a bit squeamish about the reliability, for capital's defence, of a part, at least, of the armed forces. The *Daily News* of 19 August announces that: "Orders were issued yesterday directing the arms of Hertfordshire Territorials to be sent in forthwith." And *Reynolds's* of August 29 has the following:

"Liverpool Territorials were instructed to return to headquarters the bolts of their rifles, which would, of course, thereby be rendered useless."

That the governing or capitalist class fear the workers are losing their assinine respect for capitalist order and the sacred rights of property may be deduced from the elaborate precautions taken in view of the railway strike. Even before the strike was proclaimed troops were moved to within close distance of the termini, while immediately the strike commenced the whole organisation of the regular army and a part of the navy were thrown into the scales. "Life, property, the food and fuel supply of the people, must be protected." So ran the squal of the Government and Press. The effect is, of course, that the masters' "loyal" tripe-hounds may do their dirty work uninfluenced and unhindered, and thereby smash Labour. Apart from the function of feeding the section on colonial (mostly Indian) service, the regular army is

pretendedly organised as an expeditionary force for use against a foreign enemy, or for the defence of these very tight little islands. But capital seriously menaced at home flings this organisation to the winds. Artillerymen leave their cannon at the other end of the country, and, armed with rifle and bayonet, take to conveying Deacon Jones' bacon waggon. The army is split up and sent in detail all over the country. The railway strike will have rendered great service to the workers by showing them what is the real and primary purpose of the military force of the country. These tens of thousands of bayonets flash to day, tacitly admitted the oppressor's only reliable defence—the sole guarantors of the right of property, which is, above all, the right to exploit one's fellow human. The sentinals posted every few yards around the terminus, with their twenty rounds in their pouches, speak all too eloquently. There it is for every eye to comprehend—the blunt ultimatum that in the last resort it is to the machine gun and Commune massacres that Capital looks for its survival. The ultimate justification is the river of blood. Is it not time for Labour to get BEHIND the guns?

H. B.

BRITISH UNITY.

The circulation of the "Clarion" is on the decline. The "chief" has been making strenuous efforts to apply the brake. He has deserted his Agnosticism for a belief in a divine God, has joined with Hyndman in advocating a big navy, has scrapped the Free Trade fetish for Tariff Reform with the assistance of the "Daily Mail"—he has sacrificed all to save the "Clarion."

But all to no purpose. And just when it appears that the compass has been completely "boxed," and that no other course is open to R.B. than to accept the honourable position of office boy at Carmelite House, Grayson, the vanquished Victor, steps into the breach with a genuine British production, and the situation is saved.

"The psychological moment has arrived," says he. "The time for the formation of the British Socialist Party has definitely come."

Undoubtedly. With a party pushing the "Clarion" as its official organ, and Grayson as its official organiser, both will be saved from the oblivion that threatened.

But the object of the proposed party is by no means as definite as the time, for we are told that by signing the declaration form you simply "express your desire to join," and declare that you are "favourably disposed toward the project of a United British Socialist Party."

"Our basis must be pure Socialism," but we are not told what this pure Socialism is. Conceptions as to what constitutes "pure" Socialism may differ—which is probably the idea of the founders of the new brand. For that will permit all to join and none to be sent empty-handed away.

Let us endeavour, from the writings and utterances of the holy trinity, Blatchford, Grayson, and A. M. Thompson, to discover what this "Socialism" is that is to unite all the "Socialist forces" into one great mess—pardon—mass.

A. M. Thompson tells us what we have to do. "We have sworn to smash and pulverise the gilded gods with the crafty eyes of glass that unceasingly mock our people's wretchedness from their lofty shrines above our national altars. We are determined to revolutionise England and English ideals and English society. But how?"

This sounds all right until he reaches the last two words. Then he wobbles. He does not seem to know quite how it is to be done. Parliamentary action is taboo because "Jesus never fought an election, never won a seat, never drafted a Bill, nor ever moved a resolution." What we have to do is to "sacrifice to the mob, receive its complaint, listen to it touching its faults and touching the faults of others, hear its confession, give it thy ear, thy hand, thy arm, thy heart."

Not very definite, is it? Yet quite sufficient to bring along a "startling number of unattached Socialists, many of whom belong to the middle-class." And we are assured that "Hundreds of members of the I.L.P., members of the S.D.P.,

the Fabian Society and the Church Socialist League," and "thousands of others, have responded to the call for new Party."

Whatever the policy of the party is to be, we may be sure of its British character. We must give our ears, hands, arms and hearts to the party, but we can keep our heads for other purposes. Which is kind.

Blatchford says ("Clarion" 4.8.11): "Let each man be free on all points outside the mere plain principle of Socialism. If a man chooses to preach religion or anti-religion, let him have his head, but don't incorporate those ideas into the policy of the Party: BRITAIN FOR THE BRITISH, that is all we want."

When writing in the "Daily Mail" on the "German Menace," Mr. Blatchford said that "the destruction of the British Empire would be a misfortune for Europe and a blow to civilization throughout the world," while Grayson has said that he was "ready to defend even this rotten country—willing to prefer the English to the German plunderer."

Part of the "plain principle" of "pure" Socialism is to defend the British Empire and to arm in defence of the British capitalists, Rothschild, Cassell & Co., to the discomfort of the German plunderer. Outside that "plain principle," however, the member is to "have his head," and surely he will but be following in the footsteps of the holy trinity if he loses it in dealing with Socialism.

As instance Grayson in debate with Joynson-Hicks at Manchester:

"It would have given me more pleasure to-night had Mr. Joynson-Hicks, instead of reading the exoteric, philosophic ramblings of the philosopher, Mr. Belfort Bax; instead of going to the exotics of Karl Marx, come to the source of English (why not British?) Socialism, the books of the English economists to learn what the Socialist suggestion really is. When Socialism is put into practice as it is in tramways," etc.

This repudiation of the founder of scientific Socialism is supported by Blatchford, who, in the "Fortnightly Review" (Feb. 1908) wrote:

"Dr. Crozier is mistaken if he thinks I take my Socialism from Marx or that it depends upon the Marxian theory of Value. I have never read a line of Marx. English" (I suggest British) "Socialism is not German, it is English. English Socialism is not Marxian, it is humanitarian."

So, whatever the constitution of the party is to be, whatever its policy, it is not to be based upon the teachings of Marx. We are told that all theories of Value are "vanity and striving after wind." "Economic justice is impossible," and that "surplus-value is due to the inventor, and not to the labourer or the capitalist."

(Blatchford in the "Fortnightly Review.") Socialism, according to St. Victor, is "State help out of the large income which the rich have seized from the wealth produced by the workers," and therefore they (the Socialists) "declare that land and capital are to belong to the community, whether expressed as the State, or the local county or municipal council."

In the debate mentioned, Grayson affirms his belief in God and "counts the existence of God as part of his life and aspirations," while Blatchford, known above all as an opponent of religion, and who has declared that "conflict between Socialism and religion is inevitable," writes in the "Fortnightly Review": "All forms of human genius, like land and water and the fruits of the earth, are the gifts of God, and why should not we, being all of us God's children, share the gifts of our Father to the comfort and happiness of us all?"

This, then, is the jumble which is dubbed "pure Socialism" and is to form the basis of the British Socialist Party! It is to this we are asked to pin our faith; under this banner we are to seek the Socialist unity we desire.

The B.S.P. is not to oppose other parties or, in Parliament, to oppose the Labour Party, despite the fact, as Grayson himself has stated, that the Labour Party are "traitors and cowards." No, it is to support the traitors to the working class, and, in fact, to support anything that will bring members to the "party" and readers to the "Clarion."

In the light of the facts the workers should have no hesitation in placing the B.S.P., before

its formation, in the category of pseudo Socialist parties as another step in the wrong direction, an attempt to lead a section of the workers already fooled and sold by political tricksters, in another chase after the Will o' the Wisp.

True Socialist unity will only come when the workers realise that would-be bosses of the Grayson type are as futile as would-be leaders of the Macdonald pattern.

Let the workers but grip the essentials of Socialism, and then there will be no need to talk to them of unity; and the whinnies of such burnt-out "fire brands" anxious to be rekindled, as Victor Grayson, will find no "thousands" of semi-detached "Socialists" to support them.

TWE.

ANTI-TRUTH.

A not uncertain test of a book's worth is the interval that elapses between its publication and its relegation to the second-hand bookstall. Hardly had the world been startled by the announcement of the appearance of "The Superstition called Socialism," when I observed a copy in a dealer's box. Taking advantage of the proprietor's amiability, I sampled at random the choice pearls of thought that are scattered throughout the work. Curious at seeing Kropotkin's name in the index of a book dealing with Socialism, I turned to page 108 and read:

"With that glorious revolutionary enthusiasm which inflamed the souls of our ancestors, let them wish to stab all tyrants there and then."

This, from Kropotkin the meek, seemed, to say the least, curious, so I took an early opportunity of perusing his "Appeal to the Young"—the authority quoted—in order to verify.

A careful perusal revealed the astonishing fact that the sentence quoted appears nowhere in Kropotkin's work, but is made up of two distinct fragments of sentences occurring pages apart.

On page 15 (Kerr & Co.'s edition) Kropotkin reminds schoolteachers that:

"This very day your favourite pupil . . . recited the story of William Tell with so much vigour! His eyes sparkled; he seemed to wish to stab all tyrants there and then; he gave with such fire the passionate lines of Schiller."

On page 23 Kropotkin invites poets, sculptors, painters and musicians to "fire the hearts of our youth with that revolutionary enthusiasm which inflamed the souls of our ancestors."

So the cunning Tuzelzman has to resort to the filthy practice of piecing together separate and unconnected utterances, and trotting the resulting patchwork out as an authoritative statement. The mean and paltry shifts to which the "Anties" have been reduced in order to manufacture their alleged arguments have been long known to us. Their reluctance to and avoidance of debate; their dodging and wriggling out of questions; their garbled and incomplete statistics, are all phases with which we have become acquainted. To this must now be added the lie deliberate. Tuzelzman's own explanation would be interesting. The incident is of importance as showing that the "Anties" are in a pretty bad way. We can safely assume that the methods of Ananias must be particularly commendable to those whose stock of truth is slender. We are given to understand that the "Anties" contemplate the publication of a new edition of the Bible (edited by Tuzelzman) in which, by a judicious re-arrangement of the text and a general bringing up to date, we shall read that "What shall I do to be saved?" should be answered—"Sell all that thou hast and give to the Anti-Socialist Union." We shall be exhorted to consider "What shall it profit a man if he gain his own soul and lose the rent of a block of slums?" It will include: "Blessed are ye who grind the faces of the poor." "Blessed are the bloodthirsty: they shall inherit the earth." "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you for working them 18 hours a day for 17s. 3d. per week. Rejoice! and load up with ball cartridge, and blow them into the middle of next week, for so persecuted they the slave-drivers which were before you." "Blessed are the meek, for they shall be trampled upon."

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for they make jolly fine wage slaves." "Blessed are they who handle truth very carelessly—apply for a job at the A.S.U." PARIS.

MORE S.D.P. CONFUSION AT WATFORD

In reply to a question at the end of an address at the Watford Labour Church a short while ago, Mr. Goble said that he did not consider the industrial development of capitalist society had reached a state that made it ripe for social revolution.

Mr. H. Quelch, writing in "Justice" (3.6.11) says: "It is clear that any difference of method is not a difference as between Evolution and Revolution; the difference lies here, that we believe that the economic development has reached a stage when all the industrial forms are ripe for Socialism: that we are not at the beginning, but at the end of the capitalist era, and that the one thing necessary to realise the social revolution is the conscious organised effort of the working class themselves. Our 'evolutionary' brethren, on the other hand, appear to be of the opinion that the end is to be realised in the dim and distant future by the adoption in these days of petty measures of bourgeois social reform."

Here we have Quelch affirmative v. Goble negative. Where do we stand now? According to these two officials of the S.D.P., we don't know. The matter has yet to be debated. But in the meantime Quelch says "yes," Goble says "no."

On the other hand, we of the S.P.G.B. point out to the workers in every address our speakers deliver, that the industrial forms of capitalism are ripe for Socialism, and the only matter that stops its realisation is working-class ignorance.

This ignorance is fostered by such organisations as the S.D.P.

Quelch, writing in "Justice" (19.2.10) says: "The majority of the S.D.P. do not understand what political action means."

We are able to fully substantiate that statement, but this is not the only point S.D.P.-ers fail to understand.

Here we had a Mr. Davey, S.D.P., Watford, while debating with our comrade F. Liegh, taking a little excursion into economics, and explaining to an astounded audience that capital was labour applied to raw material, and still insisting on the correctness of his definition after it had again been challenged.

On another auspicious occasion, Mr. T. Mansfield (now Councillor Mansfield), of the Watford Socialist Society, an organisation affiliated to the S.D.P., seeking votes from residents of King's Ward, and declaring himself to be a "practical Socialist," and not the revolutionary firebrand he was represented to be. And to prove it he would tell them he had been a member of the old volunteers, and was now a "Territorial" prepared to do and die for his King and his country's interest.

He also led them to believe that Municipalisation and Nationalisation were Socialism.

When the absurdity of his voluntary military service was raised, the S.D.P. Citizen Army was dragged forward, and the idea of all Socialists joining the Territorials and being possessed of a rifle to use as a weapon against the capitalist's army, if necessary, was advanced as a splendid one.

Of course, we pointed out clearly what would occur, and we were not kept waiting long before our predictions were proved to be amply justified. Let me just quote the *Daily Telegraph* of August 1st, for their benefit and the benefit of others:

"Another Hull telegram states that the ammunition was yesterday removed from the local territorial barracks, including those of the Garrison Artillery, Field Artillery, and Infantry regiments, and bolts have been withdrawn from all rifles stored there, rendering them useless." Now, you S.D.P. Territorial "Socialists," just take a lesson from the above quotation, and try to realise that only the capture of political power can give you control of these weapons.

Of course, it is left to the S.P.G.B. to tell the workers what the capitalists keep the armed forces for, and to clear up the confusion disseminated by the S.D.P.—work that the comrades at Watford, as elsewhere, are doing unceasingly.

E. T.

If you have any Liberal friends—sometimes one cannot help it—dig them in the ribs with the new pamphlet, "The Socialist Party v. The Liberal Party." You will get even for a lot.

THE VICTIMS OF CONSUMPTION.

The "Hospital Saturday Fund Journal" for June 30, 1911, contains a reprint of an article recently contributed to the "Lancet" by Dr. T. D. Lister, on "Industrial Tuberculosis." In the course of it Dr. Lister says:

"Wealth protects against consumption by the food, clothing, and leisure, and especially the knowledge, housing, and environment, which render the ubiquitous bacillus comparatively impotent. Poverty, overcrowding, fat-malnutrition of every kind, with ignorance, indifference, and other attendant evils, physical, social, and moral are its universal allies."

"The industrial classes suffer from consumption at least twice as heavily as the leisured classes, and in many occupations the penalty paid in phthisis mortality is from five to ten times that of the phthisis mortality falling upon those who do not toil. The conditions under which many industries are carried on and in which a large proportion of workers live, are therefore powerful agents predisposing to tuberculosis."

"Overcrowding and low wages go hand-in-hand with casual labour. Both these conditions have frequently been shown to have a close relation with high phthisis mortality. They have come to be accepted as inevitable and normal in many grades of workers in our civilised communities. The political economy of this part of the question is a matter for the statesman rather than the physician, and I do not intend to touch upon it further here, beyond saying that it is not for medical men to look upon it as a satisfactory state of things or one which should be regarded with complacency."

"The various groups of labourers, with the exception of the railway workers, show a very great excess of phthisis. In the railway workers and road labourers alcoholism is less than half the average. The general labourers include some of the poorest workers, badly housed and fed, and many who have failures in other occupations, or who have drifted on by reason of lack of qualities making for stability. The general labourer class forms about one twenty-fifth of the adult male population, and incurs about one-ninth of the total phthisis mortality."

"From a general review and re-arrangement of the Registrar-General's figures for male adults regarding the occupational mortality from phthisis, we can gather that there is a distinct relationship between certain kinds of employment and phthisis mortality. The one great preventive is fresh air."

"But we also find that there are many industries whose mortality as a whole is low and yet their phthisis mortality is about or above the average. Phthisis in these classes, forms a high percentage of total forms of death. Typical instances of these occupations are clerks, indoor shopkeepers, many of the textile industries, the printing trades, and those working in metals other than iron and steel. Confinement, foul air, metallic dust, bad housing, and other conditions inherent to the occupations are the causes of the phthisis excess."

All the above, I submit, shows the utterly futile nature of the present "crusade against consumption."

K.

MUNICIPALISING THE NAVY.

"At a meeting of the special justices, it was decided to send a strongly worded telegram to the Prime Minister regarding the electric power supply of the city, and urging the imperative necessity of employing Navy stokers and electricians for the electrical works of Liverpool."

"Star," Aug. 9.

HAVE THEY DONE IT?

"No wonder the companies are resolute on their 'The Conciliation Boards' maintenance. No wonder they are desirous of resisting any change in their composition and powers. The men are just as resolute to end or mend them. That is the issue which the strike is to settle."

"Railway Review," Aug. 19.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, "The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The *SOCIALIST STANDARD* is published on the last Saturday in each month.

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TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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The Socialist Standard,



FRIDAY, SEP. 1, 1911.

STRIKERS STRUCK.

HOW THE RAILWAY SERVANTS WERE BETRAYED.

THE "LEADERS."

"In the history of trade unionism no parallel can be found to this crushing disaster called 'The Settlement of the Railway Crisis.' Never before has so large a body of workers been delivered over to their masters, bound hand and foot by such a cast iron scheme of 'conciliation,' without their being allowed any voice or vote in the settlement. It is the greatest victory for the employers on record."

So said we in our issue of December 1907, concerning the "settlement" arrived at in the railway dispute of that year. The pronouncement was the summing-up of an unflinching exposure of the trick that had been played upon the railwaymen of the country. The judgment of Time bears handsome witness to the truth of our assertion, as it has, during the troublous days of the past month, to so many other things of vital working class importance that we have said.

In 1907 the railwaymen's leaders claimed a victory. We, however, were under no such delusion. We put our finger on the spot, and showed clearly the fraudulent nature of the leaders' claim that they had won "recognition." "To-day," we said, "recognition is swept out of existence for seven years." "The union officials—for it must be remembered that the men have not been consulted at all on this Scheme—have been used as the tools of the companies in signing an agreement binding on both union and non-union men, and then have been completely flouted in the Scheme itself and the unions ignored."

Was our judgment correct? The answer is furnished by the tragic events which have lately shaken the country. If it be not too flagrant a bathos to descend from the instance of the great labour upheaval to the words of the trade union leaders themselves, we may quote the "Railway Review" of August 18th. last, which declares:

"The momentous hour has come. Unless the Railway Companies are prepared to concede to their employees the elementary but important right of being represented by their unions, a general railway strike will take place."

So it is quite clearly admitted in 1911 by the leaders, that they have still to fight for that "recognition" which in 1907 they claimed to have already obtained.

We speak of "leaders," but it is gratifying to observe that the term needs some qualification nowadays. In 1907 we said: "Let the railway servants . . . realise the necessity for depending upon themselves instead of allowing 'diplomatic' leaders to guide them to ambushes and disasters." That is the message we have given all workers, as a safe guide alike upon the economic field and in the political arena. There has been a marked tendency for the workers of late to act upon this wholesome advice, at least in regard to their activities in the industrial struggle. Everywhere trade unionists have

become restless under the supine folly, procrastination, and even, we dare to say, downright treachery of their so-called leaders. They have gone on strike against the "advice" (for which word we may read "commands") of these latter, and so the would-be leaders have found themselves in the queer case of trying to lead men who had left them behind.

A study of the facts of the present instance—the great railway strike of August—will undeceive those who suppose the trade union leaders have led. They very cunningly made a virtue of necessity. Long before they issued their ultimatum the ranks of all grades were seething. The time was opportune. So much unrest was manifesting itself over the whole field of labour that the chances of success were enormously increased. And then it was the height of an unprecedentedly busy holiday season. The men, apparently, though so woefully lacking in that class consciousness and political and economic knowledge which alone can guide them safely through the struggle for emancipation, so far thought for themselves and gripped these hard facts. They remembered how, in 1907, valuable time had been deliberately frittered away, with disastrous results, and they determined to be judges of their own interests.

So came it about that on the 15th. strikes of railwaymen were in progress at Sheffield, Birmingham, Rochdale, Chester, Nelson, Warrington, Cardiff, Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, the West of Scotland and elsewhere, while in a number of other places resolutions to strike were being carried and ultimatums launched.

In these circumstances the "leaders" had no option. They had played the procrastination game to its full limit. The occupation of sitting on the safety valve was getting risky, so they had to get off. They came to the conclusion that they had either got to lead or get left. Hence the sudden and frantic scramble to the front, the ultimatum and the declaration—their nerveless hands had loosed the lightning.

Out of such a beginning what could be expected? If the men continued to think and act for themselves, much; if they allowed "leaders" to again take the reins, nothing. They did make this terrible, this fatal, mistake, and they were lost. The pusillanimous hands which loosed the lightning in fear and trembling, allowed the thunder-bolt to be snatched from their palsied grasp.

The men struck for "recognition": the leaders sent them back to work with a promise of an enquiry. The masters had recognised the leaders to the extent of discussing the proposed inquiry, just as they recognised them four years ago up to the point of their signing the agreement, though they ignored them after. And on this the strike was smashed!

No wonder the Manchester men declared at a meeting on the day following the "settlement," that they had been "sold again!"

What was the position? The Companies had bluffed and failed. They were surprised at the effectiveness of the strike. The Government had bluffed and failed. They had thrown the whole military might of the nation against the strikers, and the only result had been to demonstrate the weakness of their position. The crude incapacity of their leader, whose traditional remedy for every difficult situation is butchery, had got them into a blind alley. They had not another move left. Where actual rioting took place they were able make a bit of a show with their old and well tried expedient, murder. But over the whole field they hadn't a safe move left. True, they bluffed about mobilising the army reserves, and ordering them to work at their trades, but there was a good chance of the mobilisation order being ignored, and the Government, in the face of the remarkable solidarity of the workers in all directions, simply did not dare to play this card. Its success would not have helped them greatly, for it would have been promptly replied to by such a paralysing strike of organised labour—and for that purpose all labour, union and non-union alike, would have been organised—as would have demonstrated once for all the power of the workers, when they act as a class—even though without the class-consciousness essential to give the definite revolutionary aim.

Already the miners were preparing to come out. Thousands of engineers only awaited the opportunity of meeting on the Saturday afternoon in order to throw in their lot with their

fellow workers against the armed forces. The strike was never allowed to develop. At the very hour of its birth the Labour Party in the House of Commons and the Union leaders in their chamber of incapacity and treachery, worked with diabolical persistency to break it down.

The railwaymen were in a strong position. They would have been answered with action, blow with blow. The strike which on Friday surprised the railway directors, would have staggered them on Monday. Then if the Government had proceeded to play their mobilisation card they would have signed their own death warrant. They would have met with widespread defiance on one hand, and with the full fury of the outraged workers of the nation on the other.

The strike might have gone down in a sea of blood—that is problematical. But what is certain is that the Government would have been drowned in it—for the working-class hold the political power.

The Government dared not invite this inglorious termination to their nefarious career, notwithstanding the ghouliah encouragement of the Opposition, who would gladly have established themselves on the reeking debris of a working class slaughter. The awful powers which the Government possesses in the armed forces under their control, are not to be exerted to their full on such an issue by any Cabinet that desires to live.

In these circumstances, then, the policy of the men was clear. They should have formulated substantial demands. The release of all strike prisoners as the preliminary. Then improved hours and wages. After that "recognition." The policy of putting "recognition" in the forefront was ruin. It gave the opportunity for the Judas kiss that betrayed them. In addition it was entirely unnecessary, for a union which can win a strike for hours and wages is sure enough of "recognition."

So the unparalleled opportunity is gone. No great body of workingmen ever had such favourable circumstances. But they have been undone by the evil genius of the whole business—their "leaders." While they held the reins in their own hands they were masters of the situation, but when they allowed those whom they had forced to declare the strike, to make agreements which they had no chance to discuss, then they put their feet on an inclined plane. Their descent was swift and ignominious.

It looks suspiciously like a bit of American "graft." It looks very much as though it was a put up job to let off the steam of the railwaymen's discontent. It looks like a deliberate scheme to let loose a threatening flood and head it off into a lower level. However, whether it was designed or not, that has been the result of the fine enthusiasm of the strikers, and their great effort has ended in a great tragedy.

The most they may snatch from the ashes of their ruined hopes is the lesson that, whether on the industrial or the political field, their struggles must be grounded upon democracy. Their position must be democratic, their methods must be democratic, their weapons must be democratic. Even under capitalism democracy is no empty word, and its first interpretation is that the representative is the servant, not the leader. Had the railwaymen given this reply to their so-called leaders when the latter sent the fatal message: "All men must return to work immediately," they would not now be chewing the cud of their disappointment, marvelling at the difference between recognition of the unions and recognition of their officials, and wondering if they had not better set about making the unions (which appear to consist of the officials) recognise the men.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

If ever the Labour Party in the House of Commons were called upon to justify their existence; if ever they had an opportunity to retrieve some of the blunders and idiocies of their Parliamentary career and rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of their dupes, it was during the Labour troubles of the past few weeks. The occasion, however, has only served to expose them further as what we have always said they were—job-hunters and henchmen of the Liberal Party.

One who knew them less perfectly than we do would have expected that, at a time when every available soldier in the country was being marched against struggling Labour, something of the passionate disturbance would have

reflected itself on the Labour benches in the Commons. One would have expected that, at least, the rumpus would have equalled that which they created when the historic Osborne judgment challenged their right to put thieves' hands into the pockets of the same trade union men whom their Liberal hirers were now threatening with bayonet and ball cartridge.

The Labour Party's duty, if they were what they pretend to be, is very clear. They should have raised hell. There was not one of them but knew what was going on when the Railway Directors were seeking the promise of military blacklegism. That was the time for the Labour Party to have spoken.

They claim to hold the balance of power. If the claim is true, they should have demanded in the House the neutrality of the Government. They should have gone into the streets and pledged themselves, in unmistakable language, to the overthrow of Asquith and his Administration, as the penalty of a single soldier being moved. That they could have done in the certainty that, had they been compelled to carry out their threat, they could have gone to the constituencies absolved from all their sins—the heroes of the hour. Every man of them would have been returned, and every additional candidate they could have put into the field.

But no soldier would have been moved, the companies would have made a graceful concession, the managers would have "shaken hands" (which is about all they have done) with their servants' "leaders" earlier; there would have been no strike.

But since there was a strike; since the Liberal Government had launched its policy of bluff, threatening what it dared not carry into effect, in the interest of the railway proprietors, still there was a duty left the Labour Party. Now they should have given the strikers a lead, denouncing the Government's threats for the bluff they were. They should have told the strikers to stand firm, that the directors only wanted a soft spot to fall down on, that all they had asked for was theirs if only they would let their masters do the grovelling. They should have pointed out that Asquith & Co. had only two courses open—mobilisation of the reserves, or the throwing over of their friends the railway directors, by the withdrawal of the military support which they had so rashly provided. They should have urged them to stake all on the Government's instinct of self-preservation, and formulate demands worthy of the occasion.

Instead of which they played into the Government's hands—lent themselves as a cloak to save the face of that beaten bluffer, butcher Asquith.

Mr. J. R. Macdonald, realising that he was compelled to take action, moved in the direction of asking for a day to move a vote of censure on the Government. Provided that the Labour Party could have been depended upon for once to support, solidly, their own motion—and the unprecedented circumstances might have given them this unprecedented unity—the fate of the Liberal Administration was sealed. Anyway, the immediate effect proves conclusively that had this step been threatened at the time the companies were seeking Government support, the directors would never have received that monstrous document, and therefore would never have dared to provoke the strike on such an issue. That is as clear as daylight.

But, the State having openly and flagrantly declared for the capitalists, the masters having done their worst, the men having launched their strike under such favourable conditions as may not for years occur again, the honest policy of the Labour Party was the fighting policy. They should have seen that the men demanded substantial amelioration as an answer to the use of troops. They should have cut off all escape for the Government which had so palpably tried to coerce Labour; should have compelled them to climb down in the fierce light of their criticism, or forced them on to their doom.

All this they could have done had they urged the men to make demands and stand firm on the one hand, and persisted in their vote of censure on the other. For the Government, in placing the armed forces of the nation at the disposal of the railway companies, had taken a line of action that they could not persist in and live, and the spectacle of a capitalist Government learning a lesson from the workers should have been held up to the eyes of the world. Feather-

stone and Tonypandy would have been avenged, and the brutal bludgeoning of Manchester and Liverpool. It would have cured Cabinets of their nonchalant way of looking at these things, and it would have calmed the fiery spirits of the police for many a year to come.

But instead of following this common-sense policy, the Labour Party from the first busied themselves to undermine the strikers, and the tragic result is that the men, who might have won so much when they had the masters at their mercy, have gone back with the shadow, not of what they struck for, but of that for which they were willing to refrain from striking—they have gone back empty-handed, as many of them pathetically remark.

Nor is this the only evil. An even worse feature, perhaps, is the fact that the Liberal Government, who so openly declared the State to be what we have always said it is—a class instrument, have been allowed to slither out of an untenable position with all the kudos of having acted the part of preservers of order and makers of peace, when it was their action alone which plunged the country into the conditions of war. And, most depressing fact, the strikers go back to their drudgery crushed by the conviction that in future they are to accept the masters' terms at the point of the bayonet.

This, the most disastrous blow that has been given to Labour in any country (for even Briand was made to bite the dust), has been struck by the treachery of a few jobhunters calling themselves the Labour Party.

Make no mistake about it. The fighting policy was demanded by every consideration but one. It would have secured the strikers an unparalleled victory; it would have taught all Governments a wholesome lesson in restraint; it would have strengthened the hands of Labour in a hundred ways; it would have absolved the Labourites from much of their blundering incapacity and shameless treachery in the past; it would have trebled their numbers at the next election. But, alas, it would have been fatal to their chance of getting emolument out of the Liberal Party. That is why they clutched at peace; that is why the strikers were betrayed.

Mr. Macdonald threatens to prosecute those papers who say he is after a job. So we will content ourselves with the remark that, by happy chance, the gentleman is going just the right way to get a job thrust upon him.

But every member of the Labour Party stands for capitalism, therefore not one of them can repudiate the instruments of capitalism. Hence, when the Government claimed that it was their (the Government's) duty to preserve "order," the Labourites could only "challenge the way it was done," and when Lloyd George flung in their faces the taunt that they would have done the same, not one of the piratical crew could deny it.

So much for the treachery of the Labour Party. Those who pin their faith to such have got their answer. These men reflect the views of those who elect them, and this explains their toadying to the Liberal Government. Their treachery should teach the workers that political action, though so necessary, is useless unless they understand their class position and the politics which that position dictates. When they know the class antagonism, no elected person dare, or can, betray them.

THE GOVERNMENT.

When the Government gave the railway companies a guarantee that the whole police and military forces should be at their disposal in the case of a strike they made a blunder that should have resulted very differently. No doubt the directors played a trick on them by understating the strength of the men's organisations, but that is not an important detail. They had only to look around upon the seething mass of discontented workers that boiled from one end of the country to the other, to realise that they had quite enough trouble on hand, without looking for more.

But no Liberal Governments for generations have bluffed through so much that it would have been a gross departure from the "glorious traditions of the party" to cease to rely on the old tried and trusty policy. So, without giving due consideration to the fact that, everywhere, the trade unionists were getting out of the hands of their "leaders," and that therefore a new situation had arisen, the muddling Liberal

Government took a step in support of the railway interests that they are only warranted in taking when the capitalist class supremacy is threatened by a revolutionary insurrection.

It is claimed by the Government and the Press that the employment of troops was in the interest of order and to secure the food supply of the community. This, however, is a deliberate lie. Whatever may be said about the duty of a Government to perform these functions, the unquestionable fact that only the provision of military aid to the companies made the strike possible rules all such arguments out of court.

The time and place to preserve order and secure the food supply of the community was when and where it could most easily and effectively be done. That was when and where the companies asked the Government to arm and fortify them for the strike. If the Government's defence had been that they had acted in the interest of their class, we should have been the first to acknowledge the force of the argument. But when they say that with a view to preserving order and maintaining the food supply, they had provided the one lacking essential to disorder and famine—troops, then we say they lie.

Even the plea that property had to be protected does not support the Government's action, for the only thing that could jeopardise property was a strike. Therefore neither the preservation of order nor the protection of property, nor even the securing of the food supply of the people was the real reason for placing the country in the hands of the military, since every one of these objects was defeated by that very act.

No, the troops were called out to maintain the companies' right to rob their employees; men were to be murdered, men were murdered, in the interest of the profits of the railway shareholders. The Liberal Cabinet, from Asquith to Burns, have blood on their hands, and an even application of the law of the land would award them the same fate as Crippen.

Let the workers learn from this the futility of General Strike tactics. The recent case was not a General Strike in any sense of the word. The Government's mistake was in taking measures called for by a General Strike. But in the chaos, and brutality, and bloodshed, and suffering, ay, and failure, of those few hours is a great lesson for the working class. The shade of anarchy, the spectre of starvation, looming in the adjacent background, did not threaten the masters, but brooded over the workers. On them was to fall all the horrors of the situation. Just because the issue was not worth either the launching or the bloody suppression of a General Strike, the railwaymen's strike was good for more than it brought them; but where the issue from the workers' standpoint is worth a General Strike, it is from the capitalists' standpoint worth crushing out in a Niagara of blood.

That the master class will always have ample powers at their command for this purpose while they hold the political machinery they will make sure, and that they will use them the thirty thousand victims of the Commune massacres warn us. And again the need for wresting the control of the armed forces from them by political action, by voting Socialists, and Socialists only, into Parliament, is demonstrated.

THE PRESS.

The capitalist Press has taken up the usual hypocritical attitude. Liberal and Tory join in a chorus of condemnation of the men for striking at a few hours notice. They conveniently forget for how many years they had been struggling for consideration which was utterly denied them until they did strike; they conveniently forget that what notice was given was taken advantage of for filling waiting rooms with beds, putting points on bayonets, serving out ball cartridge, and moving troops; they conveniently forget that the companies were merely reaping the harvest of their trickery of 1907.

One of the most ludicrous statements of the Press, and one of the most wide spread, was that the directors were obsessed with their feudal prejudices and traditions. The falsity of this is demonstrated by the announcement that the directors have obtained a Government promise of legislation permitting the companies to raise their charges to meet the anticipated increased cost of labour power. This clearly shows what it is the directors feared from "recognition." There is nothing feudal about railway directors.

Post Free 114

**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

OBJECT.
The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of "all mankind without distinction of race or sex."

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

• That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically

class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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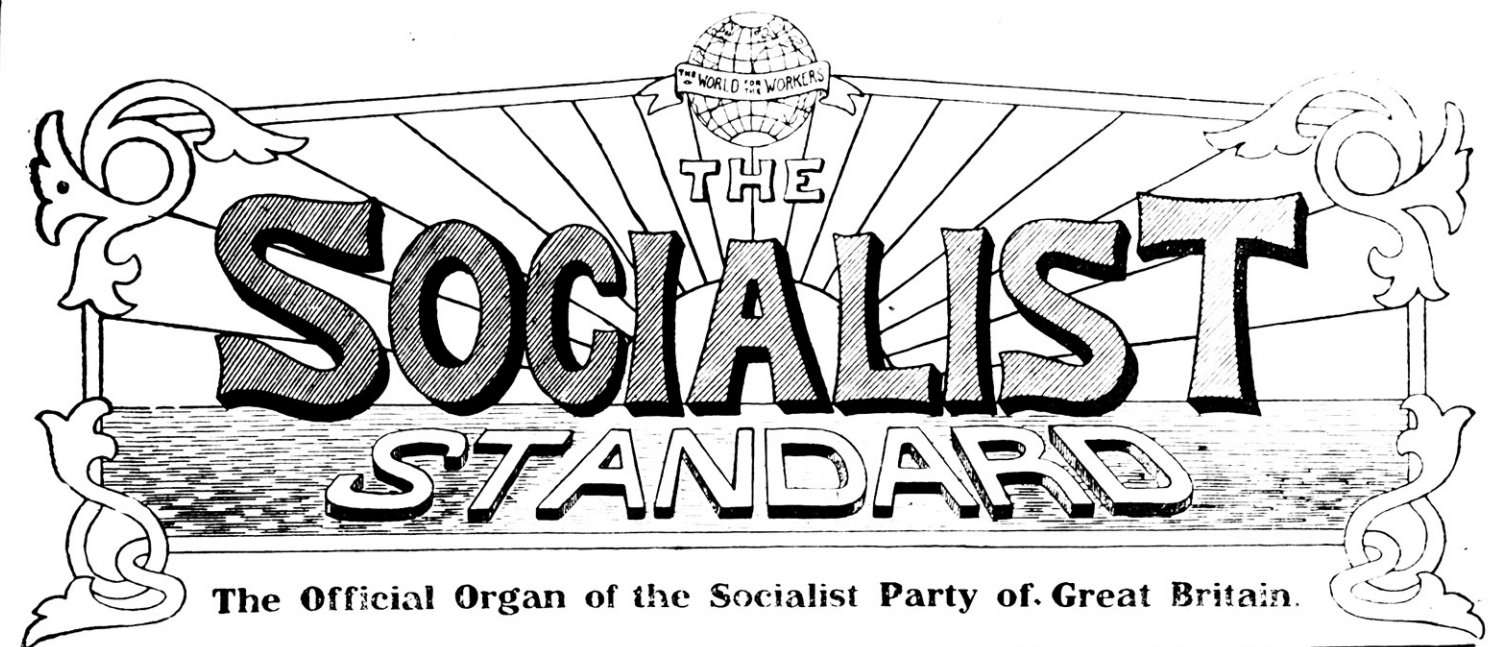
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LABOUR UNDER LIBERAL RULE. WHAT THE WORKERS OWE THE "GREAT LIBERAL PARTY."

L. T. HOBHOUSE, M.A., Professor of Sociology at London University, is the author of the latest book on Liberalism (Home University Library). The book coming from a well-known supporter of the Liberal party, many may turn to it expecting to find a serious examination of the aims and methods of Liberalism. The capitalist Press has been profuse in its praise, but those who seek a knowledge of Liberalism will get little direct information therein.

Our Liberal apologist indulges in a long academic dissertation upon Manchesterism, Benthamism, abstract ideas, and absolute rights, and throughout the book there runs the hypocritical plea that Liberalism, from its inception to the present day, has carefully guarded

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKER

and made his lot better and brighter.

The real position and interest of rising Liberalism is not dwelt upon, but an understanding of it is essential.

The Liberal Party represented the developing manufacturing class, the merchants, etc., who found the progress of their order hindered by the old forms that had survived from feudal days. The landowners, the nobility and the clergy had placed various restrictions upon the trading class—the bourgeoisie. It had imposed taxes and tariffs, and made the trader and the manufacturer bear the greatest part of the expenses of carrying on the various wars.

The Liberal Party arose as a protest against the prevailing semi-feudal institutions. Representing, as it did, the manufacturers and middlemen, it objected to any interference by the landowning legislature. In its battle against them it was aided by the workers, but when the Liberals had won their battle they spurned and betrayed those whom they had beguiled into helping them.

Laissez-faire, the gospel of the Liberals, was a policy conceived in the direct interest of the industrial capitalists.

It believed that no limits or restraints should be put by the State to the rate at which they could pile up wealth and

MURDER THE TOILERS

and their children in the process. Our author says:

"The condition produced by the new factory system shocked the public conscience and as early as 1802 we find the first of a long series of laws out of which has grown an industrial code that year by year follows the life of the operative in his relations with his employer in to more minute detail. The first stages of this movement were contemplated with doubt and distrust by many men of Liberal sympathies."

Thus cowardly and cunningly does the Professor of Liberalism hide the savage ferocity with which the members of the "Great Liberal Party" opposed all attempts to improve the

conditions of the victims of Capitalism's insatiable greed.

The Legislature had enclosed the land, driven the labourer from the soil, and confiscated his cottage. The artisan found his simple tools and plant superseded by the giant machinery and factories that had arisen all around him. These propertyless workers were forced to seek work from the Liberal manufacturers, who took a fearful advantage of their outcast condition.

These manufacturers piled up huge wealth by the unlimited toil of men, women, girls and tiny children. They used every subterfuge to prevent any legal limits being placed to the crushing slavery even of tender little ones. In the forefront of this great army of industrial murderers stood the champions of Liberalism, John Bright, Richard Cobden, C. P. Villiers, W. R. Greg, and W. J. Fox. Bright and Cobden are the revered pioneers of the present Liberal party, and the book under review is lavish in its praise of these

PIOUS PURITAN HUMBUGS.

Hobhouse says to the Liberals: "Rather we want to learn our supreme lesson from the school of Cobden." The history of the attitude of the Liberal party toward the awful sufferings of the working class in those early days has more than a passing interest for workmen. Their record in opposing factory legislation, trade unionism, manhood suffrage, etc., is pregnant with significance. For insight into their actions then, helps to show the true nature of their motives and methods in the present.

We have the following admission grudgingly made (p. 88):

"It is true that in the beginning factory legislation enjoyed a large measure of Conservative support. It was at that stage in accordance with the best traditions of paternal rule, and it commended itself to the religious convictions of men of whom Lord Shaftesbury was the typical example. It is true also that it was bitterly opposed by Cobden and Bright."

But our Liberal apologist seeks to water down their opposition and lead the workers to believe that it was a very transient one.

No more damning indictment of Liberalism could be penned than a bare description of the awful condition of the workers in the days when the Liberal manufacturers were uncontrolled by factory laws. The toilers' Inferno has been truly described in the pages of Engels's "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844."

Richard Cobden owned print and cotton works at Manchester (R. Cobden & Co.), and his life, written by that Czar of India, Morley, is replete with

DETAILS OF HIS VILLAINY.

Speaking of Cobden's opposition to the legal shortening of the working day, Morley says, p. 68,

"What he maintained was that all restrictions, however desirable, ought to be secured by the resolute demands and independent action of the workmen themselves, and not by the intervention of the law."

But when the workmen did try to obtain shorter hours and better conditions, what did Cobden say? Listen to Morley (p. 68):

"Singularly enough, while he thus trusted to the independence of the workmen, he objected to workmen's combinations. 'Depend upon it,' he wrote to his brother, F. W. Cobden (Aug. 16, 1842), 'nothing can be got from fraternising with trade unions. They are founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly. I would rather live under a Dey of Algiers than a Trades Committee.'"

Cobden's co-worker, John Bright, was a Rochdale cotton manufacturer (John Bright and Bros.). He was highly esteemed by the Liberal party, was a member of their Cabinet, and acted as their champion against the struggling wage-slaves. His biographer, C. A. Vince, the leader of the Birmingham Liberals, says of one occasion ("John Bright," p. 19):

"In August 1842, a general strike or, as it was then called, a turn out, was organised in Lancashire. Bright issued a long address

TO THE WORKINGMEN OF ROCHDALE,

urging them to return to their employment. 'Neither act of Parliament nor act of a multitude can keep up wages. You know that trade has long been bad, and with a bad trade wages cannot rise. If you are resolved to compel an advance of wages you cannot compel manufacturers to give you employment. Such attempts must always fail in the end and yours must fail.'"

This was always the cry: "Bad trade!" Yet they were running their mills day and night, and gaining huge profits. These were truly the days when "Capital celebrated its bacchanalia."

Yet present-day Liberals delight to talk of the "Hungry Forties," and identify the landlords alone with the horrible sufferings of the people. Vince, speaking of Fielden's (M.P. for Oldham) Bill to limit the labour of women and young persons to 60 hours per week, says:

"This Bill was opposed by Peel, Cobden, Bright, and Mr. Villiers, and rejected by a small minority. . . . Bright had already successfully resisted a proposal made by Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury) two years earlier. His speech on that occasion had of necessity been acrimonious."

The method of the Liberals was to claim that the condition of their workpeople was better

THAN THAT OF THE TORY LANDOWNERS' TENANTS.

But it wasn't true, as was easily proved.

Bright urged against the Bill of 1844 for limiting the labour of children under 13, that it would mean shortening the hours of adults too. And Vince says (p. 33):

"That this was the intention, as well as the effect, of the Bill, was proved by the refusal to accept an amendment of Bright's to allow the women to work in relays."

He declared that if the Bill passed they would have to close their factories! This was the cunning way of these past masters in trickery. They opposed the reduction of children's hours by talking of its effect upon men's hours. "Most of our evils," says Bright (quoted Vince, p. 34) "arise from legislative interference," and this maxim, eminently characteristic of the Manchester school, continued to approve itself to the remainder of his career. . . . The same principle led Bright a few years later to throw cold water over Sir C. Forster's Bill to strengthen the Truck Act. "Under the present condition of labour in the country there can be no permanent, continuous and irritating tyranny such as has been described by the promoters of the Bill, which the working classes are not perfectly well able to correct without coming to the House of Commons for a new measure!" Finally, in 1855 he successfully resisted an attempt of J. M. Cobden to improve the Factory Act.

Thus did the Free Trade leader look after his pocket interests. He was not above raising the good old cry: "I'll take my capital out of the country!" On page 36 Vince quotes Bright as saying:

"If I thought the elements of discord were again to be stirred up, I should myself be glad to leave the country and to

GO SOMEWHERE ELSE

where Capital and Labour are allowed to fight out their battles on their own ground without legislative interference."

Vince further tells us that Bright "was also an enemy of any possible scheme of national education."

The history of the fight for the Factory Acts is a record of the war of Liberal manufacturers against the slightest reduction of their enormous profits. The children—boys and girls—were semi-starved, flogged and brutally ill-treated for the slightest slackening of their terrible toil. Lord Shaftesbury, the Dorsetshire landlord, after long and bitter struggles, succeeded in getting a Bill passed during the Liberal administration of 1833. But it was such a hollow fraud that the battle continued for over 20 years longer. The Act of 1833 and other Acts were passed as a result of protracted warfare, but it was many years before the Government would vote a half-penny to provide inspectors to see them carried out. The Acts long remained a dead letter. Even afterwards Leonard Horner and Alexander Redgrave—the best factory inspectors the workers ever knew—bitterly complained that when they brought cases into court they found the magistrate was the

LOCAL MANUFACTURER HIMSELF

and, of course the workers lost.

The Act of 1834 permitted 8 hours to be worked by children under 13, and young persons between 13 and 18 were allowed 12 hours actual work per day, but these regulations were not to come fully into operation till 1836. The Liberal Government with a majority of 307 refused Shaftesbury's amendment to improve the Bill.

Shaftesbury introduced his 10 hours Bill (for young persons) in 1838, and the Parliament with a Liberal majority of 51 threw out the measure. Lord Melbourne was Prime Minister, and "The Times" (June 25, 1838) said:

"The public attention cannot be too forcibly directed to the scandalous conduct of the Melbourne Ministry with regard to the factory question. It was not that Lord Shaftesbury had been mocked and deluded by the broken promises and callous feeling of a mercenary and jobbing clique, but that laws of our making have been left unenforced and the unfortunate children unprotected, and that all the representations and remonstrances made to the members upon the subject had been treated with total neglect and contempt."

It shows the unspeakable hypocrisy of the Liberals when we recall that it was this same Parli- ent with the largest majority of any in

the 19th. century, that allowed children under 13 for years after to be employed for

72 HOURS PER WEEK

while in the "Emancipation" Act it limited the hours which adult Negro slaves could be worked by the planters to 15 per week!

The 10 Hours Bill came into force (partly) on May 1st, 1848, but the manufacturers rose up in a body against it. Karl Marx well says ("Capital," chap. 8):

"The working class was everywhere placed under a ban, under a virtual law of suspects. The manufacturers had no need any longer to restrain themselves. They broke out in open revolt, not only against the 10 Hour Bill, but against the whole of the legislation that since 1833 had aimed at restricting in some measure the 'free' exploitation of labour-power."

"It was a pro-slavery rebellion in miniature, carried on for over two years with a cynical recklessness and terrorist energy all the cheaper because the rebel capitalist risked nothing but the skin of his 'hands.'"

The methods they pursued are beyond description, but they can be read in the factory inspectors' reports for the years that followed. Sufficient to say here that they practically nullified the Acts. How well they carried out the nefarious work may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Ferrand in the House of Commons (27th. April, 1863):

"The cotton trade has existed for 90 years. It has existed for three generations of the English race, and I believe I may safely say that during that period it has

DESTROYED NINE GENERATIONS

of English operatives."

In urging the claim of the Liberal party to working class support, Mr. Hobhouse says (p. 84): "Trade Unions gained the first step in emancipation through the action of Place and the Radicals in 1824."

The fact is that the workers found the chief opponents of trade union combination in the Liberal-Radical party. The ferocity with which the workers were treated by the Liberal Government reminds one of the worst incidents of Russian rule. In 1824 Francis Place, the tailor, and Joseph Hume "smuggled" a law through Parliament annulling the Anti-Combination laws. But directly the workers sought to actually combine for defensive purposes the law pounced upon them. The presence of more than two workmen together laid them open to the charge of conspiracy, and in the reign of the strongest Liberal Government (1834) six Dorchester labourers were sentenced to seven years transportation for the "crime of combination."

And again, under Liberal rule in 1838, five Glasgow spinners were condemned for the same term under the charge of illegal combination and conspiracy. Lord Melbourne and "the historian," Lord Macaulay, were members of the Cabinet, and they did all they could to support those who were coining millions out of the blood and tears of women and children. They acted as in a panic and appointed numerous commissions to enquire into the best methods to

COMBAT AND SMASH WORKMEN'S UNIONS.

Bright, Cobden and Gladstone in their day were prominent enemies of working-class combination.

After long years of strife and suffering the workers got the Liberals to pass the Trade Union Act of 1871. This was proclaimed the "charter of the trade unions." But it was so futile that the masters and the Courts still carried on a bitter war against the workmen. The following year (1872) some London firemen engaged at gasworks were charged with striking and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment.

Of Gladstone Mr. Hobhouse says (p. 103):

"He was not sympathetically disposed towards the 'New Unionism' and semi-Socialistic ideas that came at the end of the '80's, which, in fact, constituted a powerful cross-current to the work he had in hand."

Right up to the present day the same class legislation in trade union matters continues. The Liberals claim to have legalised peaceful picketing by their Act of 1906, but it lies with the carefully selected judge to interpret this

clause.

Hundreds of convictions have occurred since the Act was passed. The London polishers, the Newport dockers, the Hull seamen, the Belfast dockers and the agricultural labourers of Norfolk—all have been fined or imprisoned for picketing amongst possible strike breakers.

The Liberals, despite our author's claim, in fact acted just as fraudulently

OVER THE SUFFRAGE

as on other issues. No mention is made of the long, terrible struggle on the part of the workers for a share in the franchise under Liberal Governments. Nothing is said about the ferocious fight the Liberals waged against the Chartist pioneers for simply advocating Manhood Suffrage. The trickery and treachery of the Liberals over "Household Franchise" in 1867 is completely passed over.

"The most striking victory of Liberal ideas," Mr. Hobhouse tells us, "is the establishment of Free Trade," and he points out that "the battle is one Liberalism is prepared to fight over again." This shows the essentially capitalist character of Liberalism, for Free Trade is the manufacturer's panacea, though it was obtained by deluding the working class and winning them away from Chartism by telling them, in the words of Cobden (Morley): "Is it not clear that if capitalists were free to exchange their productions for the corn of other countries, the workmen would have abundant employment at enhanced wages?"

Listen to Cobden's appeal to his capitalist brethren (Morley's "Cobden," p. 74): "Let us," he said, "invest part of our property to save the rest from confiscation." And he further says:

"At one meeting in Manchester one man after another called out in quick succession, 'A thousand pounds for me,' 'A thousand pounds for me,' until 60 thousand pounds had been subscribed on the spot. They were spending £10,000 per week. . . . I am afraid," said Cobden, "that most of us entered upon the struggle with the belief that we had some

DISTINCT CLASS INTEREST IN THE QUESTION."

Vince, in his life of Bright, says (p. 28): "The battle of the corn laws was a contention between the middle class and the aristocracy." How hypocritical the agitation for repealing the Corn Laws was we may gather from the report of the Inspector of factories for 1849, where we learn that wherever the circumstances permitted the manufacturers reduced wages 25 per cent. upon the introduction of Free Trade.

Nearly 65 years have passed since Free Trade was introduced. Mr. Hobhouse tells us that "the 19th. century might be called the Age of Liberalism" (p. 214); and the National Liberal Federation, speaking of the period since 1832, says ("The Work of Liberalism since the Great Reform Act"): "It has been in the main an era of Liberal administration. The Liberal Party has had practically unfettered control of the interests of the country in foreign, colonial, and financial policy." Yet after all this what is the position of the worker?

After detailing the high claims made by the pioneers of Free Trade our author says:

"The actual course of events has in large measure disappointed these hopes. . . . the prospect of a complete and life-long independence for the average workman upon the lines of individual competition, even when supplemented and guarded by the collective bargaining of the Trade Union, appears exceedingly remote. The increase in wages does not appear by any means proportionate to the general growth of wealth."

"There appears no likelihood that the average manual worker will attain to the goal of that full independence covering all the risks of life for self and family, which can alone render the competitive system really adequate to the demands of a civilised conscience. The careful researches of Mr. Booth in London and Mr. Rowntree in York, and of others in country districts, have revealed that a considerable percentage are actually unable to earn a sum of money representing the full cost of the barest physical necessities for an average family."

Of industrial competition he says:

"That system holds out no hope of an im-

provement which shall bring the means of such a healthy and independent existence as should be the birthright of every citizen of a free State, within the grasp of the mass of the people of the United Kingdom."

But what is the remedy? Surely not more Liberalism and Free Trade! Despite the above admissions of the

FAILURE OF CAPITALISM.

Mr. Hobhouse devotes many pages to attacking what he calls "Mechanical Socialism" and defending the present system of society. He defends it, though his leader, Mr. Lloyd George, told us (Swansea, Oct. 1, 1908): "No one can really honestly defend the present system." Mr. Hobhouse ignores the great combinations and trusts the workers have to fight by making this statement (p. 99):

"It is possible under a competitive system for rivals to come to an agreement. The more powerful may coerce the weaker, or a number of equals may agree to work together. Thus competition may defeat itself and industry may be marshalled into trusts and other combinations for the private advantage against the public interest. Such combinations, predicted by Karl Marx as the appointed means of dissolving the competitive system,

HAVE BEEN KEPT AT BAY

in this country by Free Trade."

This is a fitting statement for a capitalist Professor of Sociology to make. Anyone, without property interests to defend at all hazards, can see all around him the existence of great combinations and trusts. From the Imperial Tobacco Company to the gigantic Coats Cotton Trust; from the Salt Union Ltd. to the United Alkali Manufacturers, Ltd., they thrive and flourish even under your Free Trade.

One of the leading members of the Free Trade Union (Mr. J. A. Hobson) points out in his work "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," that Great Britain is honeycombed with trusts and combines; and recently the great Birmingham Free Trader, Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, told us that rings and combines were necessary to the capitalist and inevitable even under beloved Free Trade! A. Cleveland.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

At the recent Trade Union Congress, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne during the week beginning September 4th., Mr. William Mullin, in his presidential address, made an appeal which is certainly worthy of note. In speaking of the railway strike he expressed admiration for the men, saying that "they accomplished a great deed, and the fruits will speedily come to them." The present writer has been puzzling his brains to think what great deed, such as would call forth the admiration of Mr. Mullin, was accomplished by the railwaymen in their strike, and has come to the conclusion that it can only be the sheep-like readiness they evinced to return to work at the bidding of their leaders.

Surely that must be it. Such action would undoubtedly commend itself to Mr. Mullin, for he continued his address by urging upon the railway workers to "place implicit trust in their leaders." Presumably in the same child-like fashion as they did in 1907, when Richard Bell and the other A.S.R.S. officials delivered them over, bound hand and foot in the meshes of the "conciliation" scheme.

But this appeal to the workers to put "implicit trust" in their leaders becomes really almost too funny for words when we consider—upon a perusal of the report of the Congress proceedings on the following Friday—the spirit in which such trust has been accepted by the trustees. A resolution was moved on the Friday severely condemning the Bill introduced into Parliament by Mr. Will Crooks to end industrial disputes. The Bill is a curiosity. No one who has any knowledge of Mr. Crooks would accredit him with any excessive degree of subtlety. He often speaks of himself as being nothing more than a "plain, honest man." But one would have thought that even Mr. Crooks

could have managed to frame a Bill that was not so obviously all in favour of the employers. Why did he not obtain the Machiavelian help of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald or Mr. Snowden?

A delegate remarked, during the discussion, that he could understand such a bill coming from an employers' association, or from those interested in keeping the workers down, but he could not understand its being the proposal of a trade unionist. We, however, of course, can quite understand the bill—apart from its lack of the confusing elements usually to be found in Labour bills—being the work of a "Labour leader." All that has happened is that "plain" Mr. Crooks has, in this particular instance, been rather too plain in his support of capitalism.

Briefly, it is a bill that seeks to abolish strikes altogether. It lays it down that employers and employees should give at least thirty days notice of an intended change affecting conditions of employment with respect to wages and hours; that it shall be unlawful for any employer to declare or cause a lock-out, or for any employee to go on strike on account of any dispute before or during a reference of such a dispute to a board of conciliation and investigation, any employer declaring or causing a lock out being liable to a fine of not less than £20 nor more than £200 for each day or part of a day that such lock-out exists, and any employee going on strike being liable to a fine of not less than £2 nor more than £10 per day. (Why didn't Mr. Crooks make the employees' fine £100 or £1,000 per day while he was about it? The modesty of the bill in only claiming £10 per day from a man who is probably striking for a living wage is distinctly rich.)

A further clause in the bill declares that any person who incites, encourages, or aids in any manner any employer to declare and continue a lockout, or any employee to go or continue on strike, shall be liable to a fine of not less than £10 nor more than £200.

Apart, however, from its contents, the Bill is noteworthy by reason of the position and action of one of its backers as showing how he regards the "implicit trust" that has been placed in him by his followers. The bill was backed by Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. George Barnes, Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Enoch Edwards. The last-named gentleman, upon the bill being attacked and severely criticised as being in every sense derogatory to the interests of trade unionism, gave a remarkable explanation and repudiation of his backing. He said, firstly, that "the Bill contained propositions which he, after 40 years study of these questions, could not support."

He then went on to explain that "when I gave my name to Mr. Crooks, I had no idea I was being asked to put my name to a bill of this sort. . . . my name is there purely by inadvertence, and I shall take every means possible to assure everybody that the sentiments in that bill are not in harmony with my own views. To tell you the honest truth, I had not seen the bill." (Vide "Daily Chronicle," 9.9.11.)

A delegate hereupon very pertinently remarked that "Only fools put their names to things without looking at them." But this expression is not strong enough to be used in condemnation of the criminal negligence and vacuity of an avowed leader and paid representative of Labour, who assents to a Parliamentary measure which, if passed and carried into effect, would take from the workers the only weapon they possess while capitalism lasts, to combat the encroachments of their masters on the economic field. These be your gods, O Israel; these are the men in whom the workers are asked to place "implicit trust." The impertinence, the cynicism, of such an appeal!

It might have been expected—that is, except by anyone who had some general knowledge of trade union officialdom—that one of the most important points to be considered at the Congress, and one that would raise the most animated discussion, would have been the question of the late Labour upheavals and their so-called settlements.

But, as a matter of fact, only a very luke warm, interest was shown in the resolution passed condemning the use of the military by the Government, and in the congratulations extended to the transport workers upon the result of their previous strike. Neither the prominent leaders, nor the Standing Orders Committee, nor the

assembled delegates, appeared desirous of raising any great discussion on the matter. Doubtless there were efficient reasons for this inaction. But when Mr. Will Thorne brought forward his "hardly annual" on Secular Education, then were the delegates in their glory. In spite of the fact that at the last general election he had, according to the "Daily Chronicle," 212,10, the support of ministers of religion, and that he had S.W. Ham placarded with posters announcing that he had answered the questions of the Free Church Council satisfactorily, Mr. Thorne moved his absurd resolution re the trade union education policy, and incidentally gave an opportunity (which was immediately seized) to the assembled Christians to give proof of their Christian meekness and charity by addressing one another as "cowardly hounds," and by raising what one report calls "a perfect pandemonium" for about ten minutes.

Mr. Thorne had previously in the week distinguished himself by seconding, and speaking in favour of, a resolution advocating the establishment of a citizen army. His view appeared to be that, in some way or other, if organised Labour were armed and trained for defensive purposes—it was not quite clear whether voluntarily or compulsory—the need of conscription would be obviated.

In speeches opposing the resolution it was pointed out that "Lord Roberts, General Hutchinson, and all the Service Press advocate Thorne's bill," and that Lord Roberts had said in the hearing of a dozen or more of those present: "I don't care whether you call the army a citizen army. Call it what you like so long as you give me authority to bring the men in and train them. I will see what they do."

Undoubtedly a citizen army would be a very good thing—from a capitalist standpoint. It would probably make the workers stronger and more efficient wage-slaves; it would implant into them a sense of discipline and obedience to their "superiors," which would be found very useful by their employers in the event of any industrial dispute; it would, by concentrating their minds on military training and exercises, tend to stultify at a very vital and important period of their lives, any desire they might have towards understanding and solving the various problems that affect their economic position.

It will thus be seen that in supporting a measure such as this Mr. Will Thorne is only doing what might have been expected of him—that is, furthering the continuance of the present social system.

There were other incidents and interludes during the week, notably one interlude wherein Mr. Ben Tillett and another "internal delegate" came to blows over a "black-leg" trade union which had, apparently, been formed in opposition to one in which Mr. Tillett happened to be interested.

Sufficient evidence has, however, been given and sufficient conclusions drawn, to show how trade unionism, as exemplified by the proceedings at the Trade Union Congress, actually stands. The reports of the meeting show with what dignity and mastery the various subjects were tackled by the chosen delegates of the trade unionists.

Mr. David Shackleton and the other advisers to the Home Office and Board of Trade will be able to carry to their Departments gratifying reports of the proceedings. And, one thinks, the Liberal Ministers, on hearing or reading these reports, will wonder how they could ever have thought it necessary to bring military coercion to bear upon the workers during the recent strikes, when there were, all the time, such serviceable exponents of confusion and puerilities as the trade union leaders and officials, who could surely have been depended upon to keep in hand such of their followers as dared to evince a tendency to disturb the even tenor of Liberal reform legislation.

F. J. WEBB

The Second Edition of "Socialism and Religion" contains a useful preface. All opponents of Socialism should read the brochure; all workers for Socialism should have a supply at all times on hand. It is a splendid little worker for the cause, and does its business effectually, though silently.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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SUNDAY,



OCT. 1, 1911.

THE ONLY WAY TO WIN.

THE war on the world's workers has been far fiercer and more prolonged recently than for many years past. From the Norwegian fjords to the sunny shores of Spain it has affected capitalism in all its climes. The railwaymen of "John Bull's other island"; the miners of Wales; the cultivators of the grape in "Fair France"; these are but a few of those who have been driven to strike.

From all over the civilised world, too, comes the bitter cry of the toilers against the ever-rising prices of commodities, more particularly of the essential necessities of life, the items of the working-class fare.

France has abolished the Monarchy, separated Church from State, and parted with her House of Nobles. Portugal has dethroned and exiled her king and installed a capitalist Republic. Germany has Tariff Reform and working class "salvation" in State Insurance. The United States of America have Protection, no conscript army, State Church or House of Peers. Ireland has the "lavish" Land Acts of the Liberal party, and both Eighty Club and ugly Ulster unite in protesting that "Ireland is prosperous." Yet despite these things; despite the fact that all the reforms lustily shouted for by the workers here are in operation in one country or another, there is war, bitter, bloody, and brutal, between the toilers and their masters.

The workers, asking for higher wages on account of the famine prices in France, Austria and Belgium are being shot down and massacred by the Gendarmes. In America the "Trust busters" and the trustifiers have entered into a conspiracy to smash the unions, the latest act being the imprisonment of the union secretary, McNamara, on the trumped-up charge of blowing up the office of the "Los Angeles Times." In modern Mexico ex-President Diaz finds a worthy successor in the Liberal, Madero, who, true to Liberal traditions everywhere, is drowning every aspiration of the toilers in a torrent of blood.

In England, too, the masters are rallying for a smashing blow at the workers. A new force of mercenaries—a permanent body of special constables with a retaining fee of £5 per annum and a wage when they are actually called upon to do their filthy, black hundred's, work—is being raised. Signs of what the capitalist ghoul contemplates manifest themselves in their persistent demands that picketing shall cease, and perhaps still more definitely in the working-class enslavement Bill recently introduced by that capitalist henchman, Will Crooks. Soldiers and police are being drafted to all parts of Ireland as in Gladstone's "golden" days. The united force of man and gun is being used to conquer the slaves of Erin.

The lesson conveyed by all these cold, staring facts is not a very subtle or elusive one—in fact it is as blatantly, obtrusively plain as the facts themselves. It is this: The only way for the toilers to triumph by fighting for Revolution, not reform. Social reform is powerless to affect

materially the conditions of toil. Social Revolution alone is the remedy. The recent railway strike in Ireland sufficiently proves this contention. These strikers support the Home Rulers. But under Home Rule they will be sweated and robbed, even as they are now, because they will still be, what they are under the Saxon heel, —proletarians—propertyless.

Home Rule is a question for rulers, not for the ruled—for priests and landlords and capitalists, not for working men and women. How little the Home Rulers help the workers was shown by their eloquent silence during the Belfast massacre in 1907. None of the sturdy independence they boast of was seen upon that occasion, and they showed plainly enough that the Home Rulers' wind and fury centres around the question of who shall suck the Irish working class orange—that the Irish working class shall be an orange, to be sucked dry by somebody, is an article of faith of Home Ruler and Unionist alike.

Remember, too, that the Irish party's chief whip, Sir T. G. Esmonde, is a director of the Great Southern and Western Railway—the most bitter against the men. Mr. Willie Redmond also urges the men to go back to work ("Daily Chronicle," Sept. 26th.)

No, Home Rule, like the other reforms, has proved powerless to help the workers, wherever it has been tried.

Revolution alone is the hope of the toiling masses, and not Reform. For Reform—whether political or social—does not affect the cause of the workers' troubles. Change the entire conditions of social life and labour by the capture of the political machine by an educated and organised working class, and use it to abolish wage-slavery for ever, and to establish society upon a basis of common ownership in the means and instruments of production and distribution. Thus only can, then only will, the ills and anxieties of the wealth producers cease.

Rally to the ranks of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, for it has one Object—Socialism; one method—Revolution.

THERE NOW!

In a recent issue we pointed out that our capitalist masters would not neglect their bulldogs, the police. We have not had to wait long for verification. The exceeding dexterity with which the police in various parts of the country have handled their staves during the recent troublous times is already meeting with its due reward. The Metropolitan constables have received a rise of 1s. 6d. per week, sergeants 2s., station-sergeants 2s. 6d., and other officers in proportion.

The particularly noisome work the police have been called upon to do of late was worth an extra price, and no doubt this will suffice to prevent the strike fever reaching "buttons."

OBITUARY.

With great regret we learn of the death of our old comrade, John Jahreis. Many years ago our late comrade joined the S.D.F., but finally he came to see the capitalist nature of that organisation, and he therefore threw in his lot with the S.P.G.B.

Despite his 62 years and his indifferent health, Comrade Jahreis was an ever-willing and strenuous worker in the cause he loved so well, and our Paddington Branch keenly feel his loss. He had a bitter struggle to gain a livelihood, but, undaunted, worked for Socialism right up to the very end.

We extend our sincere sympathy to his sorrowing wife and children, now left to struggle alone.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

G. P. S. BONNER (Philadelphia).—Cutting received, but do not think same would interest our readers.

F. DOWSEY (Plumstead).—Your score or so of questions received. Some of them are answered by others. We have dealt with many in this journal before, but you will find most of them answered in the articles on Anarchism now appearing in these pages. The words "middle class" should always be in quotes.

WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE ANARCHISM.

ITS FALLACIES AND DANGERS EXPOSED.
(CONTINUED FROM AUGUST ISSUE.)

The false conception of social laws leads the Anarchists to the unsound and dangerous methods in which they indulge. The wild denunciations of the "State" and "government" and everybody vested with authority turns the heads of their ignorant followers. These uneducated worshippers of Anarchist fallacies, believing that this and that official is the real enemy, plan to make away with them, and they are inspired by the "propaganda by deed" teaching. Of course, they receive direct incitement to do so from the fountain-heads of Anarchist "philosophy." Jean Grave, in his "Moribund Society and Anarchy," teaches individual violence thus: "Let us suppose a struggle between employers and workmen—any sort of strike. In a strike there are surely some employers more cruel than others, who by their exactions have necessitated this strike, or by their intrigues have kept it up longer than was necessary; without doubt these employers draw upon themselves the hatred of the workers. Let us suppose one of the like executed in some corner with a placard posted explaining that he had been killed as an exploiter, or that his factory had been burned from the same motive. In such a case there is no being mistaken as to the reasons prompting the authors of the deeds, and we may be sure they will be applauded by the whole labour world. Such are intelligent deeds which show that action should always follow a guiding principle."

In the flourishing days of Anarchism in England, when they had captured the "Socialist League," after William Morris, Eleanor Marx and others had left it in disgust, the Anarchists used its organ, the "Commonweal," to push its reactionary propaganda. Thus D. J. Nichol, the editor, wrote of a Trafalgar Square meeting: "Some people condemned the throwing of the bomb at Chicago; for my part I think it would have been well in London if a man had been found courageous enough to hurl death and destruction among the ruffians who attacked a peaceful meeting." (Nov. 11, 1891.)

In the next issue they eulogised the Tennessee escaped prisoners who carried on open pillage in these terms: "You have shown the workers of America—aye, and of the world—how to free themselves, not at the ballot-box but with the rifle, the torch, and the dynamite bomb." It commended the Anarchist, Ravachol, who murdered and robbed an old man and was guillotined, in the following words: "Thus finished another stage in the career of a man who has shaken capitalism to its foundations and shown the workers an example worthy of emulation. We are anxiously awaiting the advent of some English Ravachols." (July 2, 1892.)

Many other examples could be quoted but one more must suffice. "We say that individual acts have always been a success. The man who strangled Watrin [a French mineowner whose men were on strike], Pini, who robbed the banks, have opened more eyes than all the pamphlet writers in a century. Our aims can only be attained by accumulated individual actions against property and the men who hold it." (Dec. 19, 1891.)

When the Anarchist "movement" was less feeble its votaries carried out its teachings. In 1893 August Vaillant, the French Anarchist, threw a bomb into the French Parliament from the public gallery. Over 60 people were wounded and he was guillotined. In 1894 Martial Bourdin blew himself to atoms while fixing a bomb near the Royal Observatory, in Greenwich Park. In the same year a Deptford "comrade," Kolla Richards, got 7 years for blowing up several South London Post offices. Emile Henry, too, threw a bomb from the balcony of the Paris Cafe Terminus, and 2 persons were killed and 24 injured.

The foregoing demonstrate that Anarchism is hostile to working class organisation. While it advocates individual violence, it paves the way for the armed forces of the State to intervene and crush it.

The need of the age is a verile organisation of the toilers, but the murder, violence, pillage, and riot that the Anarchists teach has led to

their ranks being honeycombed with police spies. It reminds one of the story told by Alexander Herzen, who upon reaching a little Italian town, found, he said, only priests and bandits, but he was greatly puzzled to decide which were the priests and which the bandits.

Just so with the members of the Anarchist groups. It is often difficult to find out which are the genuine "comrades" and which the spies.

Its secrecy and underground working make treachery possible: that is why they have never really started to organise the working class.

During the Walsall trial in 1892 it leaked out that the man who informed the police of the proposed bomb outrage was a trusted "comrade" named Coulon, who actually managed Louise Michel's Anarchist school in Fitzroy Square!

Their clubs all perish owing to the one cause. The "Autonomie," the "Grafton," the "Scandinavian," are cases in point. The "comrades" spend a lot of time accusing each other of being police spies. David Nicoll (of the "Commonweal") bitterly denounced two of the leading members, "Dr." Nettlau and "Dr." Macdonald, yet many others testified to the genuineness of these men. A late editor of the "Commonweal" came under suspicion, and is still under a cloud, though he left the "cause" long since.

As the Anarchists' numbers have declined their methods have been somewhat modified. They do not appeal with the same frequency to individual violence, yet they cannot stop their ignorant supporters from forever harping on its necessity. Indeed, the extent to which the Anarchist followers gloat over deeds of violence, the high-sounding threats and the fury they delight in, prove a distinct menace to the true revolutionary movement.

Emma Goldman (the American Anarchist) manager, Ben Reitman, visited this country a short while since, and the wild, idiotic advice he gave his audiences—urging them to break policemen's heads, etc.—could not have been surpassed by an agent-provocateur, for it openly invited the suppression of public meetings, and the condemnation of any anti capitalist movement to lasting persecution.

The Anarchists are frequently the best friends the capitalists have. Whenever they consume one of their melodramatic outrages the police and Press use it to brow beat the Socialists. The working class are shown how the "foes of capitalism" avoid any civilised weapon at their hand, and appeal to the fruitless and insane personal attack, street battle, etc.

How thoroughly dishonest the Anarchists are when attacking Socialists may be judged from their plea that Parliament has been tried and has failed! Listen to the voice of "Freedom" (Aug. 1911):

"The complete failure of the Labour Party to bring to the toilers any relief from the burdens of capitalist exploitation and the barefaced lust of personal aggrandisement shown by the majority of Labour M.P.s have compelled the workers not only to again resort to the strike to resist the capitalists, but to realise with more or less certainty that other means than Parliamentary action are needed to help his cause."

Who expected the labour leeches to advance the cause of the workers? Only those who, like the Anarchists, ignored the facts around them. "Parliament has failed!" the Anarchist bleats. Seeing that it has been filled by supporters of the present system—Liberals and Tories and their allies—for centuries, what else but continued working-class enslavement could result?

"The political machine has been used for the exploitation of the worker," says the Anarchist, and it is therefore useless to our class." One might as well say that because a cotton weaving machine has been used for the exploitation of the workers, it cannot be used in their interest when they control it.

As with the loom, so with the political machine. Controlled to-day by the capitalists, it is worked in their interests as far as possible, but upon the working class controlling it, they will use it for their purposes.

The whole of the writings of Anarchists teem with the condemnation of political action. Marx and Engels are denounced by every leading Anarchist, from Kropotkin to Malatesta, for their far-seeing and scientific conception of the value of political action to the proletariat. Mala-

A SOCIALIST SURVEY.

Mr. F. Townsend Martin, a wealthy member of American society, and a brother of Mr. Bradley Martin, the multi-millionaire, has written a book entitled "The Passing of the Idle Rich," in which he says: "I know society, I was born in it and have lived in it all my life both here and in the capitals of Europe." Further on he tells us that:

"Somewhere there is something wrong. I speak as a rich man. I speak as a representative of the class of which I write and to which in particular I address myself. We can no longer blind ourselves with idle phrases or drug our consciences with the outworn boast that the working man of America is to-day the highest-paid artisan in the world. We know those lying figures well. Many a time I myself in personal argument, have shown that the American workman receives from one and a half to three times as much as his English cousin at the same trade: but we know now that it means nothing."

We are learning, too, that what we give our workers in wages we take back from them in the higher cost of necessities, in food, in clothing, in medicine, in insurance—in a hundred devious ways, all with one tendency—to keep the living margin down."

"O most learned judge," there is something wrong, and the only curious factor in the above is its source. The determined stand made, for a time, by the workers of different parts of the world, has forced upon the notice of others besides our worthy American, the fact that while the great mass of the working class are prepared to suffer in silence, there is yet a little spirit remaining which may burst into a blaze at some inconvenient moment, to the detriment of that superstructure of society which gives to the "idle rich" so good a living for so little exertion.

Dr. Gore, late Bishop of Birmingham, in a letter to the "clergy and laity" of that city, informs us that "the profound sense of unrest and dissatisfaction among the workers" is genuine.

"We are not justified," he says, "in tolerating the conditions of life and labour under which the vast mass of our population is living. We have no right to say that these conditions are not remediable. Preventable lack of equipment among the young, and later the insecurity of employment and inadequacy of remuneration, and consequent destitution and semi-starvation among so many of our people, ought to inspire in all Christians a profound and passionate determination to devote themselves to the reform of our industrial system."

That eminently respectable organ, the "Pall Mall Gazette," tells us that

"Unrest among large bodies of men is not scientifically explained by ascribing it all to the depravity of agitators, and in the case of the railwaymen, as we have repeatedly affirmed, there are deeper causes in the general economic condition of the country which it is futile to ignore. British working men would not surrender themselves to the irrational and discreditable impulses which have had such free play during the last few weeks, unless there were forces at work to throw them off their balance, and those forces can easily be discerned in the rise of prices and the consequent fall in 'real' wages."

and if the testimony of the "democratic" "Star" can add weight to that of so respectable a witness, it tells us (20.9.11) that we have certain facts to face.

"Just as France and Germany, Austria and Spain have got to face them. All over Europe the people are in revolt against the lowness of wages and the dearth of food. It is foolish to imagine that unrest which is caused by permanent and deep-seated economic causes can be allayed by harsh words and stern discipline."

"The labor problem is a problem of flesh and blood. It is producing riots in France, in Austria, and in Spain. Everywhere the people are in rebellion against the conditions of their existence."

"The Morning Leader" (same date) says:

testa—perhaps the best known Anarchist in Europe speaking at their International Congress in 1907 said ("Freedom" report): "He often heard Political Action referred to as if it involved Parliament. This was a great mistake. What, for example, was Bressi's act (killing a king)? Was it economic? No! it was political. Marx was responsible for this confusion." In order to see whether it is confusion let us review the facts.

In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx points out that "the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy." What does "political supremacy" and "political action" mean? Are they necessary?

The growth of private property in society led to the parting off of those who possessed it from those who did not. A section of the possessors gradually became installed into offices of State, and their reign lasted until changes in the material conditions favoured the rise of a new class to power. The struggle between those who own and those who do not manifests itself as a class struggle, and its final purpose is the seizure of the political machine by the submerged class. The class struggle is waged also on the field of modern industry, and is typified by the suppression of discontented workers, the attempt to reduce the worker's share and the workers' resistance to those attempts.

This action relating to the field of industry is rightly termed Economic Action. Action pursued through the channels of local and national control and government is Political Action. For politics is but the science dealing with the laws of the control of society.

That the workers are scientific in using their political power (i.e. possession of the suffrage—the weapon) to obtain political supremacy is clearly seen by surveying the class struggles of the past and their lessons for us.

Constitutional history—the only appeal—tells us that the bourgeoisie in every land, though holding some economic power (i.e., means of production), were compelled to prosecute a long and often bitter struggle against the feudal nobility and the Church in order to secure political supremacy (executive power) and so rid themselves of the hindrances and embargos put in their path by the nobility.

The Hansa towns, the staple cities, etc., had to petition the King and his feudal co-rulers for charters granting them the privilege of trading, in certain merchandise and in certain districts thus showing the value of political control.

The political machine is represented by different institutions according to the state of the country ruled—the material condition. As every land advances out of Feudalism into Capitalism, it sooner or later throws off the "absolute," and finally all, rule of King and Court, and is forced to delegate power to representatives of the now enfranchised ruling class. These latter possess money—which makes kings bow—therefore they finally prevail over the effete aristocracy.

Germany, Japan, Persia, Turkey—as each of these countries has emerged from Feudalism proper, it has had to introduce a Constitution with a Parliament as its central feature. The Executive later is chosen from this assembly and becomes a Cabinet.

The powerful nature of political control is shown by the fight in England between merchant and noble and the victory of Parliament over the Crown. The Crown was re-introduced later, but shorn of its power, privileges, and noted prerogatives. All specialists in Constitutional history—from Gardner to Professor Dicey and Lord Courtney—are agreed that Parliament is the real arbiter, and that survivals such as the House of Lords are trimmings that matter not.

Political machinery, then, in modern society, includes, as its central feature, Parliament, and the Socialists, in urging the workers to displace their enemies from that citadel, are but pointing the right road. Parliament controls "supplies" the force against Court and Bureaucracy alike. Through its control over "supplies" it rules the Army, though it employs a War Minister, and he in turn an Army Council, to arrange details. Political control relies eventually upon power over the armed forces, and these are under the control of Parliament.

Therefore Politics to include Parliament.

A. KOUS.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

"That labor is grossly ill-organized and under-paid; that the conditions under which great masses of laborers live are a disgrace to our civilisation; that industrialism, which has opened to the wealthier classes endless sources of pleasure and luxury never dreamt of by their grandfathers, has robbed the worker's life for the most part even of the little patches of color and brightness it had in slower, easier days, and even where he gets more money has made him pay for it dearly in the drab monotony of his toil—all these things are very well known. No one questions them."

* * *

The cause of the unrest so candidly admitted is that the wage of the worker does not rise in correspondence to the increased price of necessities, and the increased cost of production of the worker, who, toiling under high pressure and producing more and more rapidly, requires a greater amount of food, both physical and mental, to maintain him in the requisite condition for the modern wage slave.

To again quote Mr. Martin:

"I cannot go down through the crowded tenement settlement sections of our great cities without having it borne in upon me that we, as a nation, pay a fearful price in human blood and tears for our industrial triumphs. For the grim fact stands out beyond denial that the men who are the workers of the nation, and the women and the children dependent upon them, are not to day given the opportunities that are their proper birthright in free America; and that, struggle as they will, save as they may, lift their voices in protest as they dare, they cannot obtain from our industrial hierarchy much more than a living wage."

* * *

When will the workers recognise that they are but merchandise? When will they see those stubborn facts with which they are faced? They can but get a bare sufficiency to enable them to produce wealth for the "idle rich," who, with all their "good intentions," are impelled by necessity, in order to maintain their supremacy, to keep down wages and to prevent the toiling masses from raising their standard of comfort. In every branch of industry the same effect is being felt: the necessity on the part of the workers to strike and of the masters to resist their demands. That nationalisation is a cure is easily refuted. Mr. Cheesman, Secretary of the Fawcett Association, seen by a representative of the "Daily News," said:

"The discontent is very general, and arises primarily from the refusal of the Postmaster General to reopen the question of the improvement of the conditions in regard to wages, especially in view of the increased cost of living and the great length of time that has elapsed since the wages were last adjusted. The National Committee is forced to take action owing to the general discontent, and not from any desire on their part to take advantage of the present unrest in the labour world."

These men are working in an industry that has been nationalised, and to add force to the argument that conditions there are at least as bad as in any private concern. Mr. Cheesman adds:

"The seriousness of the situation is emphasised by the spreading-up that has taken place during recent years in the various departments. Indeed, the conditions in many cases have become almost unbearable, and the great plague of the postal service, consumption, is being replaced by an even greater evil, nervous breakdown."

So the postman's reward—bunions and consumption—is increased by the sporting chance of a padded cell as a rest cure.

The "Daily News" (5.9.11) contains "An Interview with a typical Barman," who, after describing his daily "life" (which is, according to the scribe, a "dismal, soul-destroying round of duty") says:

"We want to establish a sixty-hour week and one compulsory day's holiday in seven. We also demand an increase in the rate of pay, since we receive at present about 1½d. per hour for labour."

* * *

I can fittingly conclude with the final statement

of Mr. Martin in the book above mentioned:

"It cannot be for long. The days of the idle rich in America are as a tale that is told. Idleness is doomed as a vocation. We in America are fast moving toward social revolution. Conflicts between labour and capital are assuming the proportions of civil war. The once powerful middle class, which is the safety of every nation, is to day weak, and is every day declining. Soon, politically it will be a memory, and the battle-field will be cleared for conflict. Instead of being the roof and crown of things, the wealthy class in America to-day has sunk to the level of the parasite. The time has come when the producing classes are about to bring it to judgment."

Let the workers of Great Britain determine that when that day comes they will not be far behind their American cousins.

TWEL.

"PROFIT-SHARING PLANS THAT INCREASE EFFICIENCY."

-O-

The above title appears over an article in the July issue of "System and Modern Business," a journal published expressly to review and suggest ways and means of running business concerns at a minimum of cost, and, consequently, at a maximum of profit.

The article in question deals with the various co-partnership and bonus systems which have been very successful from the employers' point of view, taking first the system inaugurated by the late Sir George Livery at the South Metropolitan Gas Works.

The basis of the South Metropolitan Gas Co.'s system is an agreement with each workman entitling him to a share in the business, and at the same time, security of occupation for a certain period.

When the co-partnership scheme first came into use every man in regular employment was permitted to sign an agreement on the assumption that he was a good man; but afterwards discretion was used.

The usual period is 12 months, but if a man shows little regard for his work, or is wasteful and neglectful of the Company's interest, he may find that his agreement is not renewed at the end of the period, or, in some cases, it may be renewed for three, or even six months, to give him an opportunity to improve. If he does not improve he gets no agreement, and his ultimate fate is discharge.

The bonus is paid half in the ordinary shares of the Company and half in cash. The latter is payable at any time at a week's notice, or may be left with the Company at 3 or 4 per cent. interest.

There is, however, a regulation which, to some extent, protects the men from themselves, in that it in no way restricts the employees the fact that, while one half is withdrawable, the success of the scheme depends on them saving some part of it; and in consequence, any employee who regularly draws all his cash moiety will in time find that his agreement is not renewed.

While the cost of carbonising labour to the South Metropolitan Gas Co. was less than the mean of the two other metropolitan companies in 1888, the formation of the Gas Workers Union in the following year caused it to increase until it passed the mean, where it stayed for two years.

In the second year, however, the first co-partnership or "profit-sharing" bonus was distributed, and costs fell sufficiently to reduce the excess above mean by two thirds. The following year it dropped well below the mean again, and from that time gradually grew less, until it nearly halved the high cost of labour during the dispute.

In eight years £820,000 was paid for carbonising labour-power, which was £260,000 (or nearly 25 per cent.) less than it cost the two other companies chosen for comparison to make the same quantity of gas.

All this, of course, was not the direct result of co-partnership; but, directly or indirectly, the changed labour conditions had by far the most to do with it.

This very interesting information, coming whence it does, ought to show the working class that the employers, when floating bonus schemes,

are not influenced in the least by any philanthropic notions. They are on a good thing and they know it. They sugar coat the pill for the workers to swallow, but the end in view, despite the sweet verbiage under which it is hidden, is always the same, i.e., to increase production and reduce the cost of it.

The co-partnership scheme of Lever Bros., of Port Sunlight, is also reviewed. Mr. W. H. Lever, M.P., who may well claim to be one of the pioneers of "profit-sharing," holds strong views on this subject.

He held that while in many industries wages remained stationary, capital increased output and raised the value of the product, building up colossal fortunes without in any way giving extra remuneration to labour, through which the success of many of the great enterprises was due—to the volume of labour employed without which the money-earning capacity of machinery would have been nil. Profit-sharing was, he thought, the best way of drawing out intelligent labour.

On the initiation of the scheme Mr. Lever invited his new co-partners, who would receive the same rate of wages as before, and work the regular hours, to join hands with him in making the profits of the business *sure and increasing*. He held up as a motto "Waste not want not," recommending them to work for the business, aiming at increasing the quantity and quality of the product. When working with machine and tool they should remember that they were handling, economically or otherwise, their own property! The inefficient worker would cause his fellow co-partners to suffer, as well as his employers.

The foregoing are the salient points of the two schemes mentioned. The workers will find on examination that the underlying motives of co-partnership are always to increase his output, to weed him out like cattle breeders weed out their stock, and to make him more than ever a slave by giving him an infinitesimal holding in the shares of the firm which exploits him—shares which, by the way, he cannot sell, and which he forfeits if he leaves voluntarily.

So you see, fellow workers, that it is not to give that "extra remuneration to labour through which the success of many of the great enterprises was due," but to make the worker work harder, and to make each man a spy upon his fellow "co-pards," so that "discrimination may be used" and the inefficient may be weeded out.

Another great boon is held out to the employee "shareholders"—voting power and eligibility for election as "employee director," with a seat on the board. It would, indeed, be a picture for a post-card to see the "employee director" at a board meeting demanding a bigger dividend for the "co-pards" who do the work. It would look comical if it happened so, but it doesn't. The "employee director" learns better manners and behaves himself like a good boy.

Let it be clearly understood that co-partnership precludes all possibility of a strike, for, say the employer partners to the employee "partners." "You are members of the firm and you cannot strike against yourselves. You must work harder and waste less, and then we can increase your bonus 3d. a week, which bonus you can leave with us at 3 or 4 per cent. interest. So, in the course of time, you will get enough to build a house."

The Socialist does not regard the intelligent and economical application of brain and muscle as something to be condemned in itself, but he points out that so long as the means of life are owned and controlled by the capitalist class, the application of greater effort is of no avail in the bettering of the material position of the working class as a whole, notwithstanding all the honied words of the apostles of co-partnership and bonus systems.

A. J. G.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Weekly People" (New York).
 "New York Call" (New York).
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
 "The New World" (West Ham).
 "Freedom" (London).

SHOULD THE CAPITALISTS SUPPORT TRADE UNIONISM?

-O-

TRADE UNIONS do not pretend to be revolutionary organisations. They accept the capitalist system as part and parcel of this happy cosmos, and consider their function to be simply that of haggling with the master class about the price of their members' labour-power. But even this limited work they do badly—the heads of the unions preferring soft jobs under the State to the grim work of bargaining with powerful monopolies.

Now a change has taken place of late in the attitude of employers towards trade unionism. Half a century ago their attitude was one of relentless enmity, but now the far-seeing and intelligent employers adopt a friendly tone towards the unions. Radical journals such as the "Manchester Guardian," often point out that it is just in those trades where the most powerful unions exist that we find the least friction 'twixt master and men, and that it is amongst the casual and "unskilled" workers, badly organised, that the class struggle is waged the fiercest. Whether this charge be true or not, such a position, when taken up by capitalist organs, deserves examination.

Cute and underground methods were not used by the capitalists a hundred years ago. Workers who had the audacity to fight for higher wages by combination were handled in ways drastic and open. Take, for instance, the following extract from the "Observer" of a hundred years ago:

"Yesterday at Guildhall, John Stanley, Joseph Jeffery, Thomas Brean, and Thomas Brent, journeymen bootmakers, in the employment of Mr. Hale, of Fleet Street, were charged before Mr. Alderman Scholey and Mr. Alderman Magay with conspiring to raise the price of wages. . . . The magistrates sentenced them to be confined in Newgate for two months each. Two others escaped on a point of law."

According to the law at this time, any breach of contract on the employer's part was a civil offence, on the part of the employee it was a crime. The Act of 1871 was hostile to the workers, and picketing was illegal. But much water has flowed under bridges since 1871, and there are signs that a new generation of employers look with not unkindly eyes upon trade unions.

In the early part of the 19th. century trade unionism was associated with Owenism, and the idea was wide-spread of a single trade union for all the workers in the country. But later a "New Model" of trade unionism sprang up. To quote Meredith's "Economic History of England," its "characteristics were the accumulation of large funds which might be employed either for general benefit purposes or, in case of need, as strike pay, the employment of a permanent, salaried executive to advise and carry out its policy, concentration of attention in the case of each union on the interest of the particular trade in which it was formed, and the absence of interest qua union in any social problems which had not a direct bearing on the wage contract in the trade concerned."

It is towards this "New Model" of trade unionism that employers are looking with a winning smile; it is this unionism that they are watching with feelings of thankfulness. To again quote Meredith (who, writing from a bourgeois point of view, is especially valuable):

"Down to the great Parliamentary struggle between 1867 and 1876, the opinion of employers in almost all industries was intensely hostile to collective bargaining. There were few who recognised a moral right of combination; still fewer who believed that the exercise of the right was in the true interest of their employees, and a mere handful who saw in it a socially beneficent force. In the last thirty years a considerable change has occurred. In most industries where the system has long been established, a large minority of employers hold all the views indicated above, and a certain percentage maintain that unionism, in the long run, promotes the interest even of the employer. Especially in large-scale businesses many employers find in the organisation of their wage-earners a useful check upon the integrity of their foremen and departmental managers,

and a conveniently impersonal way of bringing pressure to bear upon dishonest or idle wage-earners. Further, the employer who relies for his profits upon skill in organising his business, and marketing his output, is protected by the existence of a union against the competition of those who, whilst inferior to himself in these respects, excel him in the will or power to beat down the standard conditions and wages of the trade. Above all, the existence of a strong organisation makes it possible in a great measure to settle the general terms upon which labour shall be employed for long periods. The employer is set free from the risk of constant minor stoppages and disputes, and can concentrate his attention for months, or even years, at a time on other problems."

In the "Shoe and Leather Record" of August 25th. appeared a remarkable proposal, a curious gem to find in the capitalist Press. After an appeal for Industrial Arbitration the editor said:

"Those men who are already organised may be expected to stand up for their rights. Those who are not organised have few friends, and so it is with organised labour that we have to deal, at any rate in the first place. The first thing to do seems to be to so arrange matters as to give the unions an advantage over unorganised labour. As things stand, any advantage which the law gives is in favour either of the unorganised or the disorganised. It would be easy to enact that the advantages of the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 should only apply to organised labour—that is to trade unions. For example, Section 2 of that Act might be altered so as to read that 'it shall be lawful for one or more persons acting on behalf of a trade union,' etc., to do such and such things in relation to what is facetiously known as 'peaceful picketing.' At present the Section says that picketing may be conducted by 'one or more persons acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union.' The words printed in italics could be erased from the statute book and other words consequential thereto inserted without exacting the antagonism of organised labour, and probably with the active approval of the Labour Party. The effect of this single alteration of the law would be to compel labour to organise or to lose the advantage of the Trades Disputes Act. And without organisation compulsory arbitration is a vain thing, because unless both employers and employed can be represented in a responsible manner before the tribunal it would be useless to consider complaints."

"To compel labour to organise." This phrase is truly an indication that capitalists have changed their attitude towards trade unionism. It is support of the view that the unions are reactionary organisations: that bodies of lackadaisical men bossed by leaders with the gift of the gab and an inordinate ambition, are pleasing phenomena to capitalists, especially when these capitalists, by virtue of their being "The State," can offer the men's leaders soft emolument and tempting pensions. Capitalists are aware that arbitration, conciliation, and all the remaining fakes, are only applicable to those industries where trade union "leaders" can boss and bully non-thinking herds of workers.

The proposal of that "friend" of Labour, Mr. Will Crooks, is one more example of the dangers run by the workers in tolerating orthodox trade unionism. A Labour Disputes Bill has been concocted, backed by him and other Labour M.P.s. This bill proposes that in the case of a trade union and the employers agreeing on a Conciliation Board, any employee refusing to abide by that decision by "going on strike" will be liable to a fine of not less than £2 nor more than £10 for each day or part of a day. Such is the treachery of men who have reached fame and fortune on the backs of the wretched English proletariat.

This is the naked truth. The worker is to be "cribbled, cabled, and confined" in iron-bound trade unions, hedged around with conciliation, arbitration, "local and central boards," and the like. Surrounded by such local threats he is to lose the right to strike, lose the miserable claim that even under capitalism he should be able to take advantage of economic conditions when selling his only possession—his labour-power, an advantage possessed by the owner of any other commodity.

Yes, the men who propose to put English

wage-slaves, during the whole of their working life, still more in the power of the vicious tenacles of the capitalist—these men are their own leaders! What wonder, then, that capitalists beam on trade unionism? Is it matter for surprise that they propose compulsory membership of a trade union to be the lot of the workers? Remember the quotation before cited: "Above all the existence of a strong organisation makes it possible in a great measure to settle the general terms upon which labour shall be employed for long periods." Workers, it is for you to say that you will no longer be "employed" or "sold" at the dictates of those who pose as your leaders, but who are, in reality, the most valued servants of the capitalists.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

LAW AND PROPERTY.

-O-

It is often thought that the existence of the "law" is a providential thing, and that its maintenance (usually expressed in the term "preservation of law and order") is an aim worthy of the greatest effort of every citizen.

But history proves that the law is closely linked with property, that is that the first exists for the protection of the latter.

Now does the working class possess property? If so, then to that extent the law protects the interests of the working class, even though that law is framed and exercised by the capitalist class. But such is not the case, for the proletariat is propertyless, and possesses but one commodity, viz., labour power.

But what about his clothes, his furniture, etc., do not these constitute the worker's property? The answer is, no. For by what are these necessities procured?

They are procured with the wages of the worker, and if we read Karl Marx carefully, what do we find on this particular point?

This—that wages (in the hands of the capitalist) are a part of capital, and that the capitalist ultimately receives again that particular portion known as wages.

By attending to his physical needs the labourer reproduces labour-power, which labour-power is given back to the capitalist for the accumulation of more capital—the production of surplus-value.

Therefore it is obvious that the working class have no property, and to speak of the "preservation of law and order" is synonymous with the phrase "perpetuation of capitalism."

The law is the safeguard of the class in power; its function is the suppression of the voice and claims of the subordinate class and the monopoly of the means of life by the ruling class. The Socialist recognises that the economic basis of any society determines the nature and functions of the institutions built upon that basis. Law is a capitalist institution, and therefore works for the benefit of the capitalist class.

J. H. LAMB.

NOW READY, A NEW PAMPHLET.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

1911-12

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. Peckham.

AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM,

JUNE 1st, 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

Post Free 1911.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR OCTOBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	1st.	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, East Park Gates	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy	H. Cooper	J. E. Roe	A. Barker
Prince's Head	7.30 A. Barker	F. Vickers	J. Holmes	A. Anderson	H. Joy
Clapham Common	3.30 J. Fitzgerald	F. Vickers	F. Vickers	A. Anderson	H. Joy
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 A. Pearson	A. Bays	F. J. Rourke	A. Jacobs	F. Ryan
Finsbury Park	3.30 F. Vickers	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 A. Jacobs	F. Ryan	J. Halls	A. Bartley	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	F. Dawkins	C. Parker	A. Bays	J. Fitzgerald	J. Halls
	7.30 R. Fox	F. Ryan	C. Parker	R. Fox	F. Vickers
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 J. Halls	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	F. Ryan	J. Holmes
Parliament Hill	11.30 F. W. Stearn	F. J. Rourke	T. W. Allen	H. J. Halls	A. Anderson
Peckham Triangle	7.30 F. W. Stearn	R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	F. Ryan	H. Cooper
Stoke Newington, Bkly Rd. E. 1st	7.30 T. W. Allen	A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins	H. Joy	A.W. Pearson
Tooting Broadway	J. Holmes	J. Halls	A. Barker	J. Holmes	F. W. Stearn
	7.30 H. Cooper	H. Joy	F. Ryan	H. Joy	A. Bays
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	A.W. Pearson	F. J. Rourke	F. Dawkins
	7.30 A. Bays	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns
Walthamstow, Church Hill	8.0 F. Ryan	A.W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	A. Bays	C. Parker
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	J. E. Roe	A. Barker	F. Stearn	H. Cooper	J. E. Roe
Watford Market Place	7.30 H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	J. Fitzgerald	F. Leigh	T. W. Allen
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 A.W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	A. Jacobs	C. Parker	F. Ryan
	7.30 F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	R. Fox	A.W. Pearson	F. J. Rourke

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m. (Peckham Triangle 8.30 p.m.)
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m. Plaistow, Greengate, 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m. Earlsfield-rd, 8 p.m. Copenhagen
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Hd., 8 p.m. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd, 8 p.m. Copenhagen
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., 8.30. Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m.
 Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 4, Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BURNLEY.—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield-rd, Wandsworth. Branch meets Sat. 29 Thurn-st-rd at 8.0. Rooms open every evening.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—Sidney Avey, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.
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ISLINGTON.—S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road, Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd, Holloway, N.
NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4, Ballfour rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Weds. at 7.30 at Cobden House, Peachey-st.
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PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Secy., 91, Evelina-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.
ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to branch Secretary, Head office, pro. tem.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—T. W. Lobb, Sec., 42, Old-field-rd (Stoke Newington). Branch meets Mon. 8.15 at Lockharts, 2, Dalston Ln. (2nd floor).
THORNTON HEATH.—A. McIntyre, Sec., 29, Giltland-rd., Thornton Heath.
TOOTING.—W. Walters, Sec., 7, Kenlor Road, Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorrige Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.
TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—Communications to Secy., 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.
WATFORD.—P. Simons, Sec., 55, Church Road, Watford. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 75, Napier-rd., West Ham. Branch meets alt. Mon. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park.
WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6 Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

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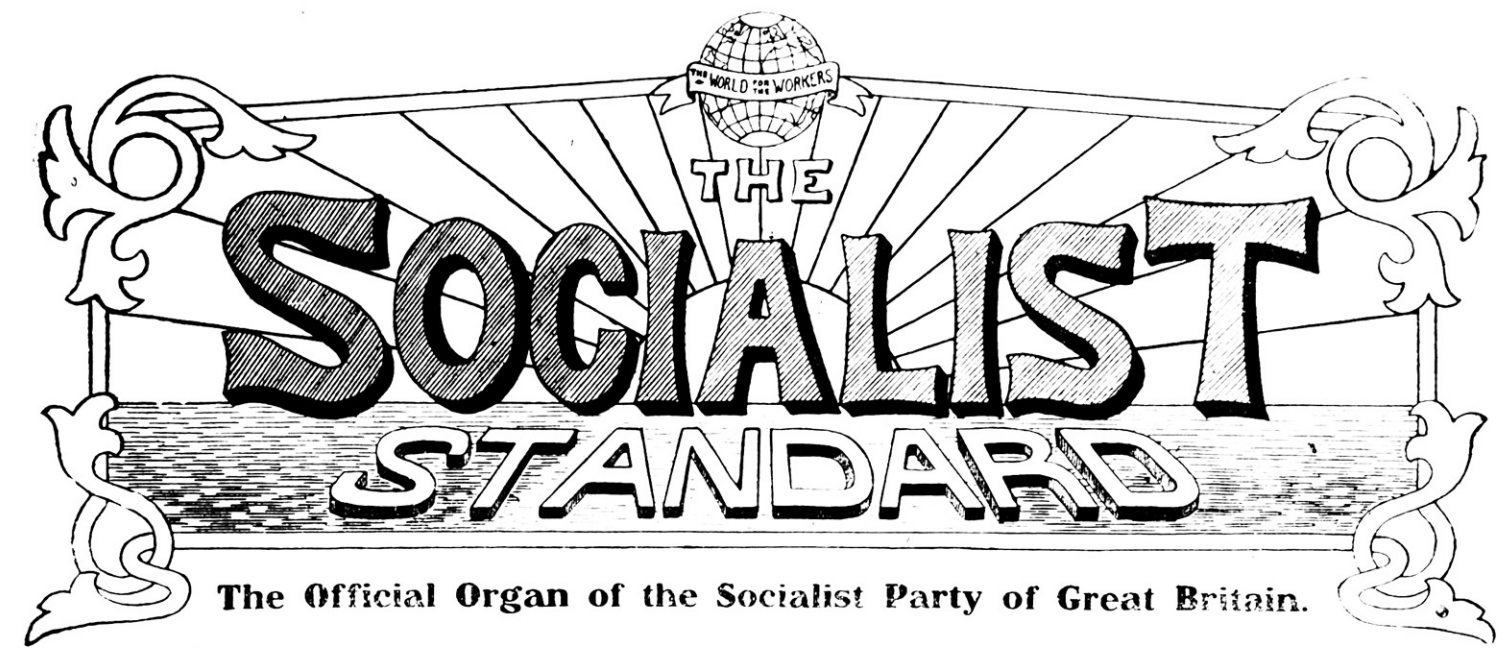
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No. 87. Vol. 8.]

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE SOCIALIST AND TRADE UNIONISM. THE SITUATION REVIEWED.

WHAT is the Socialist attitude toward trade unions and trade unionists?

This is a question which has been agitating certain minds of late—minds which are so overwhelmed with the Socialist theories of political economy that they have lost the power (if they ever had it) of analysing the conditions prevailing, and of judging how far and how completely those conditions warrant the application of the theories.

Starting from the theory that it is inevitable that the condition of the workers will get worse while capitalism lasts—a pronouncement which, under proper and careful definition is perfectly correct—they arrive at the conclusion that trade unions are not, never have been, and never can be, of use to the working class.

These gentlemen are usually men who have given some attention to economic science, who have assimilated a multitude of worthy and irreproachable theories regarding the laws of capitalist society; but, from absence of the judicial mind, they accept these theories without sufficient thought as to their limitations, and as to the conditions which qualify them, and without which they cannot be true. Hence these right and proper theories become mere shibboleths, hobble-skirts about the ankles of those submerged and lost in verbal fashion. It is inevitable that such people will argue (I had almost said think) "in terms of contradiction."

For instance, they will accept the theory that capitalism presupposes competition, and also the theory that competition tends to monopoly, yet they expect the laws of competition to operate in cases where the conditions of competition have given place to those of monopoly.

These critics and opponents of ours admit—nay, more than that, they are too blatant to be confined within the limits of a mere admission, they assert—the commodity nature of labour-power. They recognise that the owners of the commodity labour power, like the owners of all other commodities, must always struggle for the best price in order that their commodity may, in the long run, realise its value. Yet, strange confusion of ideas, while admitting the necessity of this continual fight, they would deny the workers the weapons of the struggle—trade union combination and the strike. In this they are so far

Of a Mind with the Capitalists. anti-Socialist as to be in perfect accord with the capitalists themselves.

Of course, what blinds them to the true state of affairs is another half digested theory—that the return to labour is determined by the cost of subsistence. They argue that therefore the resistance of the workers is also determined by the cost of his subsistence, and that he has no need to fashion any other forces than that of his

bare, naked will not to give way before he has to. That combination, that organisation, which is so potent and vital a factor on the political field, on the economic field is utterly worthless—a snare, a delusion, a pitfall, a gin, a chimera, a mirage, an obfuscation. The workers are to have none of it. The laws which arise from free competition are quite sufficient, under all capitalist circumstances, to give the workers all they can get under all the circumstances of capitalism.

Forgotten—that the cost of subsistence is not a fixed point; forgotten—that the standard of subsistence itself is not entirely independent of the workers' power of resistance; forgotten—that the statement that the wage (in the long run) is the reflection of the value of the labour-power is a statement of the effect of a law which implies the highest resistance on both sides; forgotten—that competition leads to monopoly.

With the development of capitalism the conditions of the labour market undergo change. Wage-slavery remains, it is true—no changes reach down to that fundamental condition. But on the side of the purchasers of labour-power there is a tendency to restrict competition. As the smaller employers are crushed out the men find themselves baggling with fewer but more powerful antagonists; as rings and trusts and combines and masters' associations spring up free competition conditions are upset, and the laws which undergo change. While such conditions obtain, are more or less modified, or displaced by laws which arise out of monopoly conditions.

Let us take any gigantic exploiting concern—the combined railway systems of this country, for instance. No intelligent person will claim that there is the same play of free competition among them as purchasers of labour-power that there is among the employers in many other industries. True, the railways as a whole have to compete with other industries for the raw, untrained labour-power in the first place, but after that competition practically ceases. Time was when the companies did "peach" one another's signalmen, drivers, and guards, but now, to all intents and purposes, the "skilled" railway worker has but one possible employer.

To talk of the laws of free competition in this case is a bit wide of the mark. The worker is no longer free to sell himself to the highest bidder, for there is only one bidder. Competition on one side is dead, and the laws of competition hobble along with one foot in a muddy furrow. It would be folly to expect anything else.

Now as there is but one employer that these men can sell their labour-power to, they have not the opportunity of putting themselves up to auction. The only thing they can do is to re-

fuse or threaten to refuse to sell their labour-power upon the offered terms. This, of course, is the strike or the threat to strike.

It is perfectly clear that such a proceeding as this must be collectively engaged in. It is perfectly obvious also that this means

Trade Unions Necessary. combination, organisation. So some form of union becomes the necessary instrument to correct or counterpoise the monopoly conditions set up by the development of combination among the masters.

Combination on the workers' part has the effect, undoubtedly, in such circumstances, of considerably increasing their power of resistance, for now the very extent of the employers' needs becomes a source of embarrassment to them. It was no difficult matter to replace a few "malcontents," but to fill the places of a large and well-organised section is a very different matter.

With the development of capitalism there is necessarily an increased tendency toward this obliteration of competitive conditions by combination among the masters. The only answer to it at the moment is for the workers to shift their line of resistance from the individual to the collective. Who denies this is an individualist, an anarchist, to the core.

Make no mistake about it, without some form of organisation the men are helpless in face of the present combination and growing tendency to combination on the part of the masters. Yet the very law which our critics adduce against us, the law that labour-power will, like all other commodities, realise its value in the long run, presupposes that they shall continually struggle for better terms. It is only out of this contention of opposing forces that the law operates.

Now our opponents tell us that trade unions and strikes are no good because when a victory is obtained the law of wages set

"... sharp racks at work to pinch and peel" and so reduce things to the old level.

This deduction can only be drawn from half-understood theories. While it is true that all their struggle in the labour market cannot raise the workers' remuneration above the line fluctuating about the subsistence level, while it is true that any

The Struggle Must be Maintained. alteration of that subsistence level must, if maintained, result in a corresponding and nullifying intensification of the exploiting system, it is true also that the struggle must be made.

With all the workers' struggles, say our critics, the economic laws decide that their enjoyment of the wealth produced shall be determined by the necessary cost of subsistence. But they forget to say what would happen *without*

the struggle.

If higher wages are answered by speeding-up and improved methods of production, the tendency toward this is always present. Machinery and methods develop with stationary or even falling wages. If every vestige of the workers' power of resistance was blotted out, so that the only limit to plunder was the physical law that a given amount of food can only produce a given amount of energy, still the means of production would tend to develop, because though that given amount of food could never be made to produce more than a given amount of energy, that energy may be made, by improved methods, to create a greater amount of wealth.

To cease to struggle, therefore, is no means of escaping from the tyrant competition of machinery. On the other hand, to cease the struggle is to reduce human labour-power even below the commodity status. The labour-power of the wage-slave is no more than a commodity because of the wage-slave's propertyless condition; it is no less than a commodity because he has a power of resistance. Why is not the labour-power of a horse not a commodity? Simply because the horse has no power of resistance. The wage-slave owns his labour-power. He is free to take it into the market and fight for his best price for it. The horse does not own his labour-power, hence it is he and not his labour-power who is the commodity. In this respect the chattel slave and the horse are alike, and the fact is reflected in the remarkably similar treatment accorded to both.

These things show, then, the folly of the argument that the struggle of the workers in the economic field for better conditions under capitalism is futile and superfluous because the economic laws determine what those conditions shall be. The laws of the exchange of the commodity labour-power are the laws of free competition. To formulate them is simply to indicate what will happen under given conditions, which in this case include a continual struggle on both the buyer's part and the seller's part.

The struggle, then, is presupposed. Therefore every means that strengthen the workers in that struggle are good so far as they do so. Organisation, then, becomes necessary to the workers as a foil to that organisation among the capitalists which tends to disturb free competition and set up new conditions. What form shall the organisation take?

The critics who stand so much upon their theories, without troubling to make sure that all the conditions necessary to their veracity are present when they apply them, says that the organisation must be founded upon a revolutionary and class-conscious basis. Good.

But the same critic will inform us, out of the plenitude of his theories, that all institutions are based on economic conditions. At any rate, the need for combinations among the workers arose long before the knowledge of the working-class position so essential to class-consciousness became general. Indeed, the basis of the trade unions to day is evidence amounting almost to proof that such knowledge is not wide-spread even now. The material, then, for a class-conscious trade union movement did not exist when the first unions were formed it does not exist even to-day. In face of these facts how could it be expected that the trade unions could, or can at present, be based upon class-conscious principles?

There is this essential difference between the Socialist movement and the trade union movement: the former was called into being by the need for revolution—the latter was not. It must be recognised that the need for the workers to struggle for the best conditions under capitalism is as real as the need for revolution. In this struggle for the highest price for labour power the trade unions did and do represent the highest form of weapon which it was or is possible to fashion with the material to hand. So far, then, they are good.

The strike, of course, is the force behind all trade union organisation. A trade union is a combination for the purpose of making it possible to collectively withhold labour-power. All the union's operations are conditioned by the progress made in that direction. Therefore if trade unions are good the strike is good also—though least good, it is possible, when it passes from a standing menace to an active hostility.

Now our critic, who is fond of throwing words into high-sounding phrases and then risking his life for them, tells us that strikes are guerilla warfare, and therefore are useless. But strikes and the menace of strikes are not guerilla warfare. On the contrary, in certain circumstances and for the purpose they aim at—the resistance to capitalist encroachment, they are the last resort, the only form of warfare left open.

It is true the opponent of the Socialist attitude tries to play tricks with himself, tries to detach himself from all his human qualities and make himself the mere embodiment of an idea. He claims to view the struggle in the labour market from "the Socialist standpoint." The view from this elevation is, according to him, that anything which does not directly forward the emancipation of the working class does not concern him.

The possessor of this strange attitude of mind prides himself ostentatiously on having reached that high scientific pinnacle where he is quite beyond the reach of every activity, mental or otherwise, but the abstract idea—Socialism. "Scientifically and logically," he argues, "to the Socialist, as a Socialist, nothing matters but Socialism." If a man could stand as the mere receptacle of the one idea, Socialism, the logic of this position might (or might not) be conceded—but scientifically the position is unsound. For the scientist may not stop where the logician does: he has to ask what are the essentials of Socialism. The first essential he discovers is—a human race. Without humanity there can be no Socialism. Directly he admits this he discovers that, even as the frigidly pure, passionless, scientific exponent and advocate of Socialism the every day affairs of men do matter, for assuredly if any calamity threatened to blot Man out of the scheme of things, to obliterate one of the essentials of his scientific obsession, it would concern him.

Such an admission, of course, is fatal to the position that the Socialist, as such, is concerned with Socialism alone. For if he is under the necessity of being concerned, in the last analysis, with the existence of the material for his Socialist society, then he has to find reasons for drawing a line anywhere, in matters that affect the condition of that material.

Such reasons do not exist—he is on an inclined plane. A. E. JACOMB.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).

NOW READY, A NEW PAMPHLET.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY versus THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. (Peckham),

AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM.

JUNE 1st, 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

Post Free 1s.

WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE ANARCHISM.

ITS FALLACIES AND DANGERS EXPOSED.
[CONTINUED FROM OCTOBER ISSUE.]

ONE thing is plain: if you reject political action you are left only with individual action—"propaganda by deed." The Anarchists have tried to find substitutes, and Syndicalism and the General Strike have held the stage—until they have been examined.

They point to France as an example of successful Syndicalism, but France is surely Syndicalism's grave! It is represented there by the Confederation Generale du Travail—composed of 300,000 members, a small number of whom are Anarchists, though, through lack of democracy, they get the official positions. The small unions have the same voting power at Congresses as the large ones, and it is well said that

THREE UNITED CHIMNEY SWEEPS

have the same voting power as a union of 10,000 members.

Owing to the tempestuous, excitable nature of the people of southern climes, they are more prone to display and impetuous action than other races. Hence the sudden strikes and the equally sudden and sad collapse of them. The majority of the organised French workers are outside the Confederation, and even the number of organised workers all told is far less than here. Yet with all the lack of organisation and the reactionary politics of the majority of unionists, the Syndicalists keep announcing a great general strike. But these strikes, ordered by the Anarchist minority at the helm, have turned out to be general fiascos.

Even a strike such as the first Paris Postal strike temporarily claimed a victory, but after Government preparations their succeeding strike collapsed amid dismissals and persecution.

The Syndicalists preach direct action, but direct action for reform. The Union Label, the Eight Hour Day, the Reduction of High Food Prices—these are some of their ideals. And "sabotage" is their trump card. Known under the English name of "ratting," it consists of breaking and making useless machinery, and other such revolutionary (!) deeds.

WRECKING TRAINS

follows, and it promotes wide-spread dissension and lack of sympathy with the strikers.

These methods indicate backward organisation and unscientific conceptions, and are reminiscent of early English trade unionism.

The Anarchists fiercely denounce authority, but they become officials of the trade unions—and paid ones at that! They impeach representation and delegation, but have to resort to them! They condemn political action but vote for the politicians who promise Government subsidies for union premises!

But the criticism from their own side is, perhaps, the most damaging. Said Malatesta (at International Congress): "He expected some comrades would be surprised to hear him speak against Syndicalism and the General Strike."

"He would have nothing to say against it (Syndicalism) if he could believe that Syndicalism could alone, as was claimed for it, destroy Capitalism. But who could expect to overthrow Capitalism while remaining a servant of capitalist production?"

The fact of the matter was that as the Syndicalist organisations grew nearer and nearer to perfection, the number of unemployed grew greater and greater.

It is only too obvious that the Syndicalists make a

SERIOUS DIVISION OF THE WORKERS

without harassing the capitalists." Sighing for a "moral struggle" he said: "We may as well confess that the purely economic struggle is not sufficient."

Ridiculing the success of French Syndicalism the same speaker said "he did not see why France should consider herself in a novel condition. English trade unionism began in just the same revolutionary way and look at it now!"

What he objected to was the idea freely propagated by some Syndicalists that the General Strike can replace insurrection. Some people fondly cherish the idea that we are going to starve the bourgeoisie. We should starve

ourselves first. He considered that some of the pamphlets published on the General Strike did nothing but harm. He had read somewhere that we ought to go and smash the railway bridges! He wondered whether the advocates of such foolishness ever realised that corn has to come the same way as the cannons come. We must face the cannons if we want the corn. If the Government have perfected the arms of repression we must perfect those of revolution. We need more knowledge!"

From their own ranks, then, the exposure has come. But we do not adopt the view of another of their delegates who asked: "What was the use of agitating for higher wages when the cost of living automatically rises in price?" That is capitalist economics.

We recognise that the workers, having only their energy to sell, have to get the best price possible, and therefore must oppose any attempt to beat them down or make them work longer. The present trade unions are not Socialist, but mere alteration in the form is not the remedy. The workers in and out of the unions must be taught the Socialist position, and when the members become Socialists, they will see that the unions take the class form.

CHANGE THE FORM

how you like while the workers are not revolutionary, they will be misled still and will fail to see the limits of their powers and the remedy.

While we strongly sympathise with all real struggles against the employers' attacks, we never cease to urge upon the workers the need for class-consciousness for ending this system of society altogether, by political control.

The General Strike as a means of emancipation must surely fail, for the working class are propertyless, and if they cease work even the "short commons" that "work" means cease too. Starvation stares them in the face. All acquainted with proletarian life know the terrible privation that strikes entail: the suffering writ large on the faces of the helpless babes, the toddling children and the struggling wives. Such agonising scenes as were to be witnessed on the hillside and in the valleys of South Wales during the year-long Cambrian Strike. The stripped homes; the crammed pawnshops; the rising mortality: these remind us that

STRIKES STRIKE THE WORKERS

as well as the masters. This is but a sectional strike; a strike with those at work helping those who are out. But when all the workers strike even that help fails, for they are all in the same boat. Even in sectional strikes we have seen how the workers often appeal to the bourgeoisie for aid for their wives and little ones, and soup kitchens, etc., are opened. Their purchasing power also grows worse as strikes continue, for prices rise.

The masters, strongly entrenched in the economic field, also control the political machine, and when they think the aims of the strikers important enough they use the armed forces to butcher, baton, and cow the strikers. Though always at their command, they do not use the armed forces wantonly. They weigh the pros and cons. "Is massacre necessary?" they ask themselves. "Can't we arbitrate their demands out of existence? Won't a Royal Commission do? Shall we give their leaders jobs?" Just as they bought Briand, the pioneer of the General Strike. Only when these other means fail do they risk inflaming the populace by resorting to open and

WIDESPREAD MASSACRE.

But other means generally do not fail.

True, a general strike can paralyse industry. A prolonged General Strike can destroy society. For we depend upon continued production and cessation means death. But death snatches its first victims from the toilers: they are most vulnerable—they have no stores, no reserves. Our masters have.

The General Strike figured largely in speeches 30 years ago, and found its chief exponent in Michael Bakunine. The greater part of his life he was a prominent figure in the reactionary pan-Slavist crusade. He turned his attention to the International founded by Marx, Engels, and others, and in the Latin countries and Switzerland he carried on a bitter campaign

against Marx and other members of the London General Council of the International.

Marx believed in effective organisation, strong and well knit, and political action as against street fights. The unscrupulous methods Bakunine used to smash the International from within, together with his past, often laid him under suspicion of being a spy, but against his intrigues the sturdy Socialist pioneer proved too strong.

From the days of the International onward Marx and Engels continued to press the need for the conquest of political supremacy by the workers. Engels incurred the especial hatred of the Anarchists for his condemnation of their General Strike tactics. The Anarchist rising in Spain in 1873 served as an occasion for his pamphlet against them entitled "The Bakunist on Labour," and he afterwards carried the war into

THE ENEMY'S COUNTRY

with his "Social Conditions in Russia," a polemic against the Bakunists circulated widely in Russia. W. Teherkesoff, the Anarchist, bitterly denounces Engels for these pamphlets in his falsified "Pages from Socialist History" and elsewhere.

The last work from Engels' pen was the introduction he wrote a few months before he died (1895) to Marx's "The Class Struggles in France." Of it the writer of the "Life of Engels" says: "With merciless criticism he destroyed the fanciful representation of the all-powerful barricade and destroyed the hope of the European reaction that the labourers could be provoked to a street-fight in which they could be repulsed with decimated ranks. He showed how the revolution in the art of warfare had made the old form of struggle impossible, while a new weapon had been provided for the labouring class in the new political right of suffrage against which the ruling class were helpless. 'The irony of the world's history,' says Engels, 'places everything on its head. We, the revolutionaries,' the 'overturners,' we succeed better with the legal means than with illegality and force. The self-named 'Party of Order' goes to pieces on the legal conditions created by itself. They despairingly cry with Odillon Barrot

"LEGALITY IS OUR DEATH,"

while we from the same legality gain strong muscles, ruddy cheeks, and the appearance of eternal life. If we are not so foolish as to please them by allowing ourselves to be led into street fights there remains nothing for them but to be broken to pieces upon this fatal legality."

Just as Engels shows, we, the revolutionaries, are prepared to use legal means in so far as they can be used in the workers' interest, and ignore them when they cannot. When legal means fail illegal means are justifiable and commendable. Therefore we have no qualms about using the suffrage, enacted by the capitalists. We know that just as the bourgeoisie before us had to be enfranchised for the free and easy development of society an ever wider and more extended suffrage is imperative.

One section or another had sooner or later to pass the Franchise Bill, and it was the Tories who actually did it—to dish the Liberals was their immediate aim. It is with the enlightened use of this weapon they were forced to give us that their graves will be dug. Marx well says: "The capitalists are their own gravediggers." Enactments they pass to conserve their own interests often have effects they little dream of at the time. They made "education" compulsory the better to compete with other nations, but with even that miserable education the worker's child may afterwards read the message of Socialism and be converted into a fighter in

THE ONLY CAUSE.

Anarchists and their allies say "Look how the suffrage has been tampered with abroad," but they forget that even in semi-feudal Prussia, despite stifling of the vote, the candidates it was intended to keep out have still increased, to the dismay of their enemies. In the same way, should a headstrong Government suspend the suffrage, they meet disaster in the resentment they inflame in the masses.

But the Anarchists' point really shows the value of Parliamentary action, for if the use of Commons is useless against the capitalists,

why do they attempt to manipulate the suffrage to prevent the Socialists getting in? Just as their plea that real revolutionists will never be allowed in Parliament brings its fitting answer, if it is the futile institution the Anarchists pretend, why should they raise barriers to prevent their election?

No! the Anarchists ought to see, just as we do, that the millions spent on elections by our masters to get their nominees returned; the money spent on agents to teach the workers the "virtues" of capitalism and the "vices" of Socialism, signify much. They spent millions to prevent the workers getting the vote, and for forty years brutally ill-treated, massacred and persecuted the Chartists fighting for mere manhood suffrage. They evidently know its portent and its value.

While Socialists are in the minority in Parliament they can but use its platform to oppose capitalist villainy; to point the lesson of its daily deeds; to examine the measures brought before them and show their failure and their fraud, and in the long run, by the continued work and criticism of the revolutionists, and the growing number of the Socialists they represent, they will doubtless witness the passing of measures intended to

CONTENT THE TOILERS.

but any grains of good they may contain will be used but as a further foothold in the fight for Socialism, the fight against all the enemies of the Red Flag.

I believe sufficient has been said in this article to show the firm, scientific attitude of the Socialists toward the fallacies and dangers of Anarchism. One by one their so-called arguments have been exposed in the light of history and of science. In the anarchist theory as well as of practice their "case" is seen to be Utopian and futile. Their "direct action" turns out to be direct reaction, for to ignore the political machinery is to play the game of the ruling class.

The final plea of the Anarchists usually is that politicians always have sold out and always will sell, but this cannot apply to our movement, for informed Socialist men and women are not material for the man on the make. But what is true is that on the economic field the betrayals of the toilers have been frequent and many. From the pioneer of the General Strike in France—Aristide Briand—to John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labour, they illustrate the puerility of the Anarchist view.

Have we not in Britain a whole tribe of tricksters from the industrial field? What of Isaac Mitchell, David Cummings, Richard Bell, and David Shackleton? Trade union leaders all! And the Anarchist reliance upon an intelligent minority as against the Socialist policy of an enlightened whole will give these tricksters

MORE SCOPE THAN EVER.

We appeal to the men and women of our class to take their place in the only revolutionary party in this country—the Socialist Party of Great Britain. All around us are signs of the "fret and fever" of our fellows under the lash of capitalist oppression. Governments are marshalling their forces for attacks upon our class. Surely here is the need for a strong, revolutionary, disciplined movement inspired by the Socialist ideal to battle against the influence of false friends and foul foes. Cease your fruitless wanderings in the desert of Anarchism ere your enthusiasm dies away. Guided by the beacon lit by Marx and Engels and the landmarks on the road travelled by our class, enlist in the only Socialist Party and lift your voice and use your pen to dispel the moonshine of the missionaries of capitalism and help to bring nearer the sunshine of Socialism—the fruitfulness of the co-operative Commonwealth.

[CONCLUSION.]

A. KOHN.

A FIFTH EDITION.

We have to announce the publication of the Fifth Edition of the Party Manifesto. The Manifesto itself remains unchanged, but the preface has been brought up to date, necessitating the enlargement of the brochure to 2 pages. The price is still 1d. post free 1½d.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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NOV. 1, 1911.

THE LIES OF LLOYD GEORGE.

LAWYERS are invariably liars, but for downright deception and callous mockery this Welsh lawyer member of the Government exceeds any.

Here he is at Whitefield Tabernacle telling the toilers that the "three principle causes of poverty and destitution in the homes of the industrial population of the country are ill-health, unemployment, drink."

Everybody, including the members of this brutal Government of fraud and force, knows that these three things are but the symptoms of the poverty stricken condition of the workers. The very fact of Mr. Lloyd George limiting his survey to the "industrial population" shows at once that the ill-health follows directly from the condition under which this section of society works and "lives."

"Unemployment" may accentuate the poverty in individual cases, but the workers are poor—employed or unemployed. Let Lloyd George ask his fellow Free Trader, Chiozza Money; or refer to the latest edition of "Riches and Poverty," written by this shining light of the capitalist gang.

Even Lloyd George admitted in this speech that the average wage was only 21s. per week. "Drink," too!—as though the toilers were poor because some of them drink. Here again, he might have asked his bosom chum, Arthur Sherwell, M.P., for Huddersfield, for an answer to this dirty, lying claim. A reference to Mr. Sherwell's book on "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," will acquaint him with the fact that the rotten economic conditions under which the toilers "live" cause the excessive drinking habits of the submerged.

Dealing with Unemployment Mr. George said the Insurance Bill "makes provision against the distress which follows unemployment in two and a half millions of the homes of this country."

What a colossal, callous, impudent lie! A small section of the toilers are to get seven shillings a week for a few weeks provided they have paid for it and that they have not been guilty of "misconduct" and provided they have not left work without "just cause." Such terms, of course, are to be interpreted by the Bureaucrats of the Labour Exchanges.

Seven whole shillings a week!—just enough to pay the (Tory) landlord, and this humbug of a capitalist "statesman" calls this providing against the distress!

The sickness portion of the Bill, he said, "will remove to a very large extent the destitution and penury which follow on the heels of sickness in the homes of the people." Remove it by deducting at least 6d. per week from two and a half million men and giving the majority of those insured—who Mr. Lloyd George assured us could not keep up their payments to Friendly and Insurance Societies—the chance of drawing out from the Post Office—only what they have, paid in, minus deductions for sanatoria, medical aid, administration, etc.

"At the present moment the entire burden of sickness amongst the industrial population falls on the shoulders of Labour. In the future more than half will be shouldered by others." Thus the glib orator. Firstly, seeing that the working class are the only class engaged in producing wealth, the "others" live upon "Labour" all the time, Insurance Bill or no Insurance Bill. Secondly, the employers have been plainly told by Mr. Ure, Lloyd George's fellow Minister, that they can easily recoup themselves for any charges upon them. Mr. Lloyd George, too, has been busy making concessions to the masters—his friends. That is why, in the words of the wily Welshman, "All parties accept the principle of the Bill"—all parties except the Socialist Party.

We do not support the Bill, because it is a miserable fraud. It claims to deal with poverty and destitution, but does not touch the cause. Nay, it does not even touch the effects—except for the worse. It is a Bill for standardising poverty and penalising the worker. The unemployed worker must register at a Labour Exchange, accept any job offered or be dubbed a "wastrel." When he is wounded at work the Government pockets the "benefits" he has paid for. When he is ill he is to be examined by the "experts," and if they are satisfied he gets just about enough to pay the rent for a little while. His family receive no medical or other benefit under the measure.

And the most despicable and heartless fraud during these five years of Liberalism has been, perhaps, the shameful betrayal by Lloyd George & Co. of the workers whose support they got by pledging themselves to provide for benefits under the Bill when the breadwinner had gone.

The sinister side of this betrayal is exposed to view by the pressure put on the Government by their supporters who are directors or shareholders of life assurance companies—like Sir Henry Dalziel.

Should the employers lock out their workmen, or goad them into striking, then the latter receive nothing. It is truly a wonderfully ingenious arrangement for the benefit of the landlord on the one hand, and for undermining the position of the worker as a seller of labour-power, on the other.

WOE TO THE VANQUISHED.

EVIDENTLY the capitalist class were convinced of one thing by the railway men's strike, and that is that under the present conciliation scheme the long, dreary delays in dealing—or pretending to deal—with matters in dispute gave a good excuse for a strike. Hence the appointment of the Royal Commission to investigate the workings of that scheme and to report changes with a view to the prompt and satisfactory settlement of differences, directly the men had been so smitten over the strike and persuaded to return to work by their treacherous leaders.

This commission has, after examining a number of witnesses, issued its Report, and the most satisfactory result has been the derision and repudiation by numbers of the men of this document, signed though it is by Arthur Henderson, "Labour" M.P., as chief decoy duck for the Liberal party.

The examination of the witnesses threw a lurid light upon the work Mr. Henderson had in hand. Every witness from the men's side was pressed by this sycophant to state or agree with some scheme that would keep the men from striking, no matter what conditions were in dispute or how long the "arbitration" was in reaching a settlement.

In summing up the evidence from the men's side the report says:

"Complaint is made that where advantages accrued to the men by the agreements arrived at by the Boards, or the awards of arbitrators, these advantages were counterbalanced, or altogether taken away by changes in the 'management.' The chief instances given are the reclassification of grades, the employment of men in a lower grade to discharge the duties of duty so that Sunday rates of wages and

overtime are avoided, and, where hours of labour were shortened, the arrangement of hours of going on and coming off duty in a way that spread the period of duty over a greater number of hours."

To this the employers replied that "the changes in matters of management which the men allege deprive them of the benefits granted by awards, were not carried out with that object." (Italics ours.)

Here we see that it is not even attempted to deny the men's statement, but only the motive for such actions.

Yet in spite of this the Commission says:

"We think that with their great responsibilities the companies cannot, and should not be expected to, permit, any intervention between them and their men on the subjects of discipline and management."

No wonder their Report met with the derision of the men when the most vital questions are to be left entirely in the hands of the employers for settlement!

The suggested amendments to the 1907 Conciliation Scheme are worthy of notice.

The Central Boards are to be abolished. The Sectional Boards are to be retained. But the latter are to have a chairman selected from a panel to be constituted by the Board of Trade. If the Sectional Board does not agree upon a name from this panel, the Board of Trade selects one. His powers and decisions are peculiar. The Boards are to meet twice a year, but a special meeting may be asked for by either side to be held in fourteen days. Should a difference arise as to the date or necessity of holding such special meeting, the chairman's decision settles the matter.

If the two sides of the Board fail to reach an agreement the chairman gives a decision!

"Settlements arrived at by agreement between the two sides of a Conciliation Board shall have effect for at least twelve months."

But—

"Settlements by decision of the chairman of a Board shall have effect for at least two years."

And as before, no meeting be held during August or September, except by mutual consent.

Here we see how the official representative of the capitalist class—the chairman—has enormous powers in ending any dispute that arises and so deprive the men of the old excuse of delays.

In all essentials the scheme will work more rapidly and strike its blows in greater number than before. The men have not yet gained a single essential point they did not possess before, while the companies' interests are more rigidly safeguarded under the swifter moving machinery now available. J. FITZGERALD.

IDEALISM V. SOCIALISM.

A CRITIC ANSWERED.

THE following criticism of the third chapter of Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," raises objections to the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism. And as many others may jump to similar erroneous conclusions through failing first to master the elements of the problem, it will be both interesting and useful (at least to those desirous of understanding the Socialist philosophy) to review the points raised.

The criticism runs as follows:

"SCIENTIFIC" SOCIALISM.

A CRITICISM OF ENGELS' CHAPTER ON THE ABOVE.

"The Socialist Party of Great Britain is founded upon the economic principles laid down by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, principles which it must be admitted, are, on the whole, sound and well conceived. But on applying logic to the particular phase of the subject known as 'Scientific Socialism,' one comes up against anomalous situations which it is here my purpose to point out.

My first point is this. Engels asserts, on p. 29 of his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,"

that "the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."

The only term applicable to such a statement is "economic fatalism," and such is the creed of Marx. Now if it be true that "ideas are secondary things in the changing or transforming of a society," a statement that was made in the pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," and which is the implication of the above Engelian assertion, does it not seem absurd that the S.P.G.B. should strive to educate the proletariat to class-consciousness? Why educate if the "final causes are to be found not in men's brains?" Engels tells us that "society at present contains, in a more or less developed condition, the means of getting rid of the incongruities of capitalism," and if that be so, how can man control, or can he control at all, these means, which I take to be economic forces?

Socialism is a deduction from present-day phenomena. It is not a fact but a theory—a theory based upon logical deduction. Therefore I cannot see how it can be scientific. But that being so, Socialism is not a remedy for poverty, etc., for Engels says "these means" (referred to above) "are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the present-day system of production." (Page 30.)

Following upon the above, one is astounded by the following seeming contradiction: "The present structure of society is the creation of the ruling class of to-day."

Surely this cannot be, for we have just been told that "changes must not be sought in men's brains," therefore to speak of the bourgeois class as the designers and creators of capitalism is obviously contradictory; if the bourgeois class created capitalism, why cannot we infer that the proletariat will, by combined political action, create the Socialist system? "The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society." (Page 30.)

I defy the S.P.G.B. to disprove the statement that ideas are the predecessors of economic change. Ideas are not of secondary importance as stated in the pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," but of primary importance. What transformed society in the time of the Revolution but inventions, that is, ideas? What will abolish capitalism and bring Socialism but ideas? We must educate the proletariat, must imbue that class with the idea of social ownership, must, in brief, preach Socialism. And then, when the proletariat has reached that point of intellectual impregnability termed class-consciousness, they will not hesitate to capture the political machinery, and utilising that machinery as a lever, will transform the capitalist State into the Socialist regime. J. H. LAMB.

One's first care in serious discussion must be correct terminology and accurate quotation. Now it is not correct to say that "economic fatalism" is the creed of Marx. The Socialist is not a fatalist but a determinist. Fatalism (even stripped of its gross superstition) ignores or defies man, and denies him his place among social forces; thus falsifying sociology by suppressing an important factor. Determinism, on the other hand, gives man his due and recognises him as the vehicle of certain social forces with a part to play in social change that cannot be ignored. This is so even though man's part is determined by heredity and environment—that is by past and present social conditions—and is ultimately explicable only from the economic basis. As the point has been put by Prof. Pannkoek: *

"Not only the moral codes, but also other products of the human mind such as religion, science, arts, philosophy, were then understood to be connected with the actual material conditions of society. The human mind is influenced in all its products by the entire world outside of it. And thus the mind is seen to be a part of nature, and the science of the mind becomes a natural science. The impressions of the outer world determine the experience of

* Preface to Dietzgen's "Positive Outcome of Philosophy." Kerr.

man, his wants determine his will, and his general wants his moral will. The world around him determines man's wants and impressions, but these, on the other hand, determine his will and activity by which he changes the world; this will-directed activity appears in the process of social production. In this manner man by his work is a part, a link in the great chain of natural and social development."

Thus the historic materialism of Marx and Engels (using the word materialism in its broad philosophic sense as opposed to idealism), while recognising the economic as the essential ground-work, embraces the whole of the factors—the reflex as well as the direct—and places them in their true relative positions.

Further, in the pamphlet on Socialism and Religion, issued by the Socialist Party, the statement which our correspondent puts in quotation marks nowhere occurs. As will be seen later, such a statement would convey a false impression. The passage our critic has in his mind is doubtless the following, which occurs in the preface to the second edition, now on sale.

"The Socialist case against religion differs widely from the usual Freethought position. There are Rationalist superstitions as well as Christian. Religion was not the wicked invention of charlatans, nor is the passing of superstition simply to be explained by the 'triumph of Reason.' As shown in the following pages the 'march of mind,' the development of science, and the decay of religion, are themselves ultimately explicable only from the evolution of economic conditions. Ideas play a secondary part in social development. They are the effects of the material environment on human beings, and are not the creative motive force of social evolution. Consequently, in his worship of the 'idea' the bourgeois freethinker is, like the Christian, attributing miraculous powers to the figments of men's brains."

Our critic's misquotation shows that he confuses the gradual economic development with the conscious revolution.

It explains why he is "astounded" at Engels' statement that the present structure of society is the creation of the bourgeoisie.

Marx has outlined the materialist conception of history in the preface to his "Critique of Political Economy," and in the course of it he says:

"In considering such revolutions we must always distinguish clearly between the change in the industrial methods of social production on the one hand; this change takes place unconsciously, according to the laws of natural science, and might properly be called an evolution."

And, on the other hand, the change in the legal, political, religious, artistic, philosophic, in short ideological institutions; with reference to these men fight out this battle as a revolution conscious of their opposing interests. This conflict takes the form of a class struggle."

Hence the truth of Engels' statement. Economically, capitalism has evolved; politically it has been created. Ideas play an immediately prominent part in political revolutions, but they are themselves the products of previous conditions, mainly economic. To our critic, however, ideas cause, or create, but are not themselves caused! He calls them creative, and is extremely unwilling to look behind ideas at all lest he should discover them to be determined by social and economic conditions.

It is such an elementary truth that ideas are secondary to material change in the advance of the social organism that it requires all man's insufferable conceit about his intellect to blind him to its recognition.

Our correspondent fails to give any argument in favour of Idealism and his "defiance" and mere assertion are in no sense contributions to the discussion. Obviously, before mind could exist the material and forces which form it must have existed. Ideas, further, require the existence of brains, and are generated in the brain by experience, impressions, or sensations; racial or personal. They are the reasserted reflexes of first- and second-hand experience, directed to more or less useful ends by the interests, wants and environment of the individual.

The mind, then, is a reflector—one with a highly developed and useful power of focussing and accumulating its reflections—but still a re-

flector in essence. This, however, is far from minimising the historic and social role of the products of the mind, and the importance of this role, secondary to material conditions though it is, is fully realised by scientific Socialism. Just as capitalist political and legal society is the product of the now dominant class, so will the establishment of Socialism be the work of the proletariat imbued with the Socialist idea. Now, the working class, as such, is a product of capitalism. Its interests, ideas, and aspirations, are the consequences of economic pressure and capitalist environment. Indeed, if it were not for economic development within the present system, Socialism itself would be neither necessary nor possible. It would not even be thinkable. But as it is, the direct effects of economic pressure and the material environment are caught up, reflected, and passed on by the mind, quickening the movement and propagating the idea among the workers.

Consequently ideas are the revivifying force of the working class movement, but only so long as the connection with material conditions is clear, close, and logical. So soon as this ceases to be the case, the faddist, the crank, the charlatan, or the traitor finds congenial soil, and the movement is proportionately retarded. But no ideas, whether sound or distorted, are original creative forces springing independently out of man's head. All of them, given the antecedents, can be traced to earlier material causes. In short, ideas are not gods, though gods are ideas. They are social products.

Among the capitalist class the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism is utterly useless. Why? Precisely because (pace Mr. Lamb) "the final causes are not to be found in men's brains," and because ideas are secondary to the influence of the material environment. That is why we are a class party. That is why Socialism spreads amongst the workers, and propaganda amongst them is effective, adding definiteness and intensity to the movement.

Obviously it is by no means absurd, according to the determinist position, to strive to educate the proletariat to class-consciousness. But the fact of it being so utterly hopeless to convert the capitalist class to Socialism is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the belief in ideas as creative forces or prime causes of social change.

It is difficult to take quite seriously a correspondent who states, in these days of scientific theory, that a theory "based on logical deduction from present-day phenomena" is therefore not scientific!

Science, as Engels shows, is essentially deduced from stubborn facts in contradistinction to metaphysical philosophy, which vainly endeavoured to construct a complete system of knowledge from a few introspectively obtained principles, ranging from the "I think, therefore I am" of Descartes to the gibberish of Professor Tait's doctrine of God-knows-where.

Its utter failure is the bankruptcy of Idealism, just as the rise of modern inductive science is the demonstration of the fact that the idea, however fantastic, is but the more or less distorted reflex of the real world. Science, indeed, is directly due, in its modern phase, to economic development, and would be impossible without it. It is under the impulse of the technical necessities of capitalism that the advance of science has been so rapid and so triumphant.

Engels, therefore, in saying that the means of abolishing capitalism are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production, is simply saying that the Socialist method must be scientific, not metaphysical. Our correspondent has entirely failed to understand the passage in question.

And the inventions of the 18th century of which our correspondent speaks—do they help him? What called them forth? What gave them their opportunity? None of them would have been possible in earlier economic circumstances. Every one of them depended on the active co-operation of society and on a given condition of the material to hand, being otherwise impracticable. All arose from, and were dependent on, economic development every inch of the way. The tools, and the arts of working in the many materials, wood, leather, stone or metals, had previously to have reached a given degree of perfection. The wheels, pulleys, cylinders, pistons had to be present in utilisable form. A

Social demand had to exist. And a social market that depended on a certain degree of development of a definite social system had also to be available. All these and other prerequisites were the results of the accumulation of human experience and practice through countless years. The inventor, as well as the conditions around him, was the product of economic evolution and untold past social effort. For countless ages mankind had patiently persevered, following the line of nature's least resistance to their needs, acted upon by, and reacting upon, nature, before social conditions were ripe for the beginnings of the machine age. And then the inventions were called forth by the necessities of a particular stage of industry. Once power-driven machines were made possible by the state of one branch of industry they became theoretically possible in all, and absolutely essential in many. So the problems, narrowed down to definite points by industrial advance, were clearly set down for solution by economic development itself.

So true is this that at a particular period the same thing will be hit upon in several widely distant centres at the same time. This continually occurs, both in industry and with its hand-maiden science.

Not one of the inventions was the result of one man's labour. All were the results of many minor improvements. Indeed, the "great man" theory has been exploded by Herbert Spencer, and the inventor, like the genius in other spheres, is the product of his age.

It was the exhaustion of the wood supply in the forests of the South of England, together with the pressing need for iron, that directed men's energies to the utilisation of coal for smelting; a process that but slowly approached perfection with accumulated practical experience.

One need, indeed, go no further than the first volume of "Capital" for a masterly expression of this fact.

After pointing out how manufacture (in the old sense) produced the machinery by means of which modern industry abolished the handicraft and manufacturing systems in those spheres of production that it first seized upon. Marx says:

"A radical change in the mode of production in one sphere of industry involves a similar change in other spheres. This happens at first in such branches as are connected together by being separate phases of a process, and yet are isolated by the social division of labour, in such a way that each of them produces an independent commodity. Thus spinning by machinery made weaving by machinery a necessity, and both together made the mechanical and chemical revolution that took place in bleaching, printing, and dyeing, imperative. So, too, on the other hand, the revolution in cotton spinning called forth the invention of the gin, for separating the seeds from the fibre; it was only by means of this invention that the production of cotton became possible on the enormous scale at present required, but more especially, the revolution in the modes of production of industry and agriculture made necessary a revolution in the means of communication and of transport."

The huge masses to be worked demanded huge mechanical instruments for the operation, and power capable of moving them. This, as Marx further shows, led to the invention of the slide rest, a means that was essentially required to produce the straight lines, cylinders, and spheres needed in the construction of the steam engine.

Finally, machinery itself could not be introduced before a certain stage of economic development, because it required for its effective use that a given stage of the social division of labour be already reached. So the classic instances of man's power of invention are but further proofs of the dependence of man's ideas upon economic development.

The materialist conception of history is, indeed, an integral part of the Socialist philosophy; and there is no consistent way of escape from acceptance of the whole when the truth of one of its phases is recognised. Nature—all knowledge, is essentially one. All phenomena, mental and physical, are in the domain of science, and intimately woven together in the universal network of cause and effect. Human brain work, important though it be, is but a small part of nature, and it is still true that the

whole is greater than the part.

Industrial processes evolve along lines of least resistance pressed hard by human requirements. With this evolution the internals of society outgrow the social edifice which the ruling class have erected during their run of power. It is the workers who are most affected by this. Their ideas change, and acquire definite form and purpose. The socio-political change begins to show itself, as it were, as a smouldering of ideas. It bursts into light. The flame spreads because of the abundance of combustible material around it. It gathers strength and propagates ever more quickly by the increase of its own internal heat. The rigid structure that would enclose and smother it is at last burst asunder, and the great change is a thing accomplished.

So our work in the propaganda of Socialism is not only necessary—it is inevitable. And whether the historic mission of the working class be fulfilled sooner or later depends, to a great degree, on the intensity, completeness, and scientific nature of that propaganda.

F. C. W.

"BLESSED ARE THE MEEK."

REALLY, when the matter is considered, perhaps one of the strangest and most paradoxical phenomena in the present strange and paradoxical social system is the excessive and irritating humility that pervades the majority of the workers. Here you have a numerous army of men and women engaged in producing all the wealth of society—everything that is necessary to mankind, every article of use, eye, and of luxury, emanates from the working class. And yet, instead of insisting upon reaping the fruits of their sowing, the workers meekly allow a small section in society calmly to appropriate to itself all that is produced; further, meekly allow themselves to be insulted, mocked and jeered at by the very people in whose interest and for whose benefit they work day after day, year after year, through a life-time of degrading toil and hopelessness. All their lives through they meet with nothing but covert or open insult.

Take the following instance:

A labourer, we will say, applies at a mill or factory for a job. He is seen by the manager or some other functionary of capitalism (himself usually a working man, but in this case standing as the embodiment of the employer), and something like the following dialogue ensues:

MANAGER: Well?

LABOURER: I've just called, sir, to see if you've

got anything for me.

MANAGER: What's your name?

LABOURER: John Smith.

MANAGER: Age?

LABOURER: Forty-two.

MANAGER: Umph! You're rather old for our

class of work. We want young, strong men.

LABOURER: I'm strong enough, sir. Not afraid

of work.

MANAGER (sceptically): You don't look very

strong. Married, I suppose?

LABOURER: Yes, sir.

MANAGER: Any family?

LABOURER: Three children.

MANAGER: How long have you been out of

work?

LABOURER: About three months.

MANAGER: What have you been doing in the

meantime? Living with relatives or what?

LABOURER: Well, my wife has done a bit of

work and my eldest boy brings in a shilling

or two a week.

MANAGER: I suppose your hands are pretty

soft by now?

The labourer, without speaking, holds out his

hands, palms upwards, and they are looked at

critically by the manager.

His references are then examined, and if it is found that he has been honest, sober, industrious, and has left his previous situation through no fault of his own, his name and address are probably taken down. The dialogue ends:

MANAGER: If we find there is an opening, we

will let you know.

LABOURER: Thank you, sir. Good morning,

sir.

MANAGER: Good day.

An impartial onlooker might perhaps think that the above colloquy would be likely to touch, however softly, some hidden spring of self-respect in the workman. But such seldom seems to be the case. The treatment meted out to the workers on their applying for situations appears usually to be accepted by them as quite natural and inevitable. For generations past the priest, the politician, and the pressman have done their best—and their best has been wonderfully successful—to instil a self-abasement and a slavish humility into the working-class mind. The brutal and impertinent questions asked are taken as being "all in the day's work."

But what would happen, one wonders, if the tables were suddenly turned and the workman began to ask similar questions of potential employers—such, for instance, as to the financial stability of the firm, the social standing and the domestic affairs of the shareholders or owners of the company, or as to whether the morals of the chairman of the board (if, as is now generally the case, the company should be a joint stock company) were as irreproachable as his linen.

It is not, however, only within the actual industrial portion of capitalism that this kind of thing obtains. All over our present vicious system there is this same contempt on the one hand and humility on the other. Take the following instance, chosen at random:

Dr. Jansen, of the Charity Hospital in Stockholm, reported as follows on the 12th of May, 1891, in a lecture to the Medical Society at Stockholm:

"When I began my experiments with black small-pox, I should, perhaps, have chosen animals for the purpose. But the most fit subjects, calves, were obtainable only at a considerable cost. There was, besides, the cost of their keep, so I concluded to make my experiments upon the children of the Foundlings' Home, and obtained kind permission to do so from the head physician, Professor Medin.

"I selected fourteen children, who were inoculated day after day. Afterwards I discontinued them and used calves. . . . I did not continue my experiments on calves long, once because I despaired of gaining my ends within a limited period, and again because the calves were so expensive. I intend, however, to go back to my experiments in the Foundling Asylum at some future time."

Any working man or woman of a mathematical turn of mind, who happens to be a father or a mother, may perhaps from the above be able to calculate the value of his or her children—in the eyes of the kindly Dr. Jansen and his confrères—in comparison with the calves, which "were obtainable only at a considerable cost."

Or take the case of the notorious Dr. Neisser. This distinguished member of the medical profession, who in June of this year was invited by the West London Medical Chirurgical Society to deliver the Cavendish Lecture on the Evolution of the Modern Treatment of Syphilis, at Kensington Town Hall, London, and presented with the gold medal of the society for "distinguished work in medical science," has openly boasted of the fact that at the University Hospital of Breslau, he has frequently experimented upon children with the virus of syphilis. Several young girls of the poorer class were inoculated under his instructions, some of whom were admittedly known to have contracted this loathsome disease in consequence. Neither the parents nor the patients themselves were aware that they were being experimented upon. But even had they known, would they have dared to raise a protest?

In a certain book very much in vogue among theologians we are told that: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." But so far from this being true, so far from any blessings accruing by reason of the exercise of this Christian virtue, the workers, if anyone, should know by now that their lot under capitalism is not the inheritance of the earth or any portion of it, but rather of life-long toil and degradation and suffering. The above aphorism might very well, from a working-class standpoint, be revised to read: "Blessed are the strong and those who have pride in the realisation of their strength, for they shall inherit all the glorious intellectual and physical possibilities of life which only freedom from wage slavery can give."

F. J. WEBB.

A SOCIALIST SURVEY.

UNDER the heading "Protection against Socialism" the "Globe" prints the following:

"The management of the Essen Railway, in order to counteract the attempts of Socialists to convert to their cause the employees on the system, have submitted to every man in their service a written communication, warning them that the introduction of Socialistic literature into the places where they work will be punished by dismissal."

The capitalist class realise the danger of the spread of Socialism, but such methods of repression will not avail. The "Labour" leader can be dealt with. The trade unions can be silenced through their officials. But the Socialist propaganda and the Socialist Press, insignificant though they may appear, are a growing force that non-plus the "captains of industry." They will find that all their lying and suppression will but recoil upon themselves, for what is it we are told about that infinitesimal portion of the "Old Adam" present in each human breast that sets up an insatiable longing for the fruit which is forbidden?

At "Labour" leaders the representatives of Capital can readily scoff, because their criticism contains a grain of truth. The following from the "Standard" (24.8.11) can be readily endorsed by the Socialist.

"The Labour Party are great talkers and a due regard to the supply of workmen's pennies calls for an occasional advertisement of their independence. But a little reflection will probably help the hurt that Labour honour feels, and two months hence Mr. Hardie and his friends will be tamely trooping into the lobby with the men they have described as murderous hirelings of capitalism. Gratitude has little part in the politics of labour, but fear and cupidity have full sway, and even Mr. Churchill's crimes may be condoned if the Government continues to allow some of the golden shower of patronage to fall upon the flower of the Party."

Andrew Carnegie, library purveyor, has offered £15,000 for the building of branch libraries at Cottonopolis, and certain labourists have protested against taking assistance from a man who, as head of the American Steel Trust in 1892, was responsible for the murder of the strikers at Homestead. Whereat Andrew, writing from Skibo Castle to the Mayor of Manchester, says:

"May I ask you to inform your citizens that I was coaching in the far north of Scotland when the deplorable outbreak at Homestead occurred and did not hear of it for two days after. I received the following cable:

"Kind master, tell us what to do and we will do it for you. Workmen's Committee."

"It was too late. Two City Guards had been shot, and the Governor of the State had called out troops and was in possession of the works. Into the merits of the question we need not enter, tho I must say I found, on my return, that my partners had offered most generous terms."

"The workers of Pittsburgh never refused the Libraries and Halls I personally built for them at the Carnegie Works, nor others I built for the city, nor would the workers of Manchester if they enquired into my relations with labor for 20 odd years during which I was in control."

Now we all know Andrew. He has forced himself upon our notice as a philanthropist of the most rabid type, as an economist of a very doubtful order, and as an authority upon morality and "simplified" spelling. But I, for one, did not think he would rush into print with such an absurdity. A correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" (12.9.11) writes:

"With respect to the personal responsibility of Mr. Carnegie for the strike at Homestead, of which the Pinkerton riots were the outcome, Mr. J. H. Bridge, at one time Mr. Carnegie's secretary, reproduces in his book 'The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company,' a draft of a notice to the Homestead employees written

by Andrew Carnegie on April 4, 1892, and sent by him to Frick (a co-director) at Pittsburg. This notice stipulated that the Homestead Works should become non-union after the expiration of the contract then in force, which ran until June 30, 1892. In the same look there is a reproduction of a letter represented as from Mr. Carnegie and dated June 10, 1892, in which the advice is given that conferences should be refused, and that if the union should refuse the scale proposed by the Company the non-union notices should go up on June 25."

As to the "kind master" cablegram and the "20 years relations with labor," the same correspondent quotes Mr. J. A. Fitch, New York State Dept. of Labor, thus:

"In March (1888) the Knights of Labor sent a committee to New York to interview Mr. Carnegie. He received them, and proposed a reduction of 10 per cent. in the steel department and 8 per cent. in the other departments, together with a return to the twelve hour day. These terms were necessary, he told them, to enable the Edgar Thomson plant to compete with the Chicago rail mills, which were nearer the market and where a twelve hour day then prevailed."

"In April Carnegie went to Pittsburg and made a proposition of a sliding scale of wages based on the selling price of steel rails. A committee of working men were appointed who should inspect the books each month to determine the base of wages for the next month. At the same time he announced that the plant would start non-union and the men must sign an agreement not to join nor remain members of any labour union. In May Carnegie refused to meet a committee or hold any further conference, and about the middle of the month, after being out all winter long, the men accepted the terms and went back to work. Thus ended unionism in the Edgar Thomson plant."

With all his "gentle Jesus" cant, Saint Andrew is about as clumsy a liar as can be found even among his less pious brethren, and it is rather amusing to note that the champion of "directive ability," in order to escape from an awkward position, will confess that the workers of America can turn out wealth for him while he is "coaching in the far north of Scotland."

TWEL.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

ANSWER TO TOM GLEW.

Marx says: "Commodities are sold at their real values." Now that being so, why is it that in countries where the productivity of labour is high, gold has not so great a buying power as in countries where labour is not so productive? Take America and England. America is the highest of all, I think, yet commodities exchange for more gold there than in England. This cannot be due to protection as Germany shows.

TOM GLEW.

Marx says prices deviate from values for varying periods and various reasons.

Thus monopolies are often able to push up and hold up prices above values for a considerable time, while cutthroat competition will sometimes drive prices down below values.

The high stage of trust development in America is one of the factors behind the high prices ruling there.

But this statement needs an important qualification. Many factory products where the productivity of labour power is greatest are cheaper there than here, and it is mostly in foodstuffs that the high prices reign.

The reason is not far to seek. Agriculture lags far behind manufacture in economic development. The soft soils suitable for agriculture do not lend themselves to the easy manipulation of ponderous machinery and prime movers, so that at present a limit in their application has been reached.

Moreover, the farmer if burdened with the monopolist charges of Railway and Elevator Companies, and this fact finds some reflection in higher prices. The result is to retard the

spread of agriculture, so that it is not expanding either extensively or intensively at the same rate as the population. Hence the relative demand for the farmer's products is increasing adding another factor to those given above in maintaining high prices.

REVIEW.

"HOME RULE IN A NUTSHELL," by J. M. Veagh, M.P. Price 3d.

It is significant for the members of the working class—in Ireland or elsewhere—that there is no direct mention or statement of their position and problems anywhere in this pamphlet. While as if to emphasise its concern for the chosen class we are told on page 3 that "the impulse of Nationality comes from higher than earthly powers."

What a consolation to those who find themselves put to so many shifts in endeavouring to account for the shortcomings of Home Rule!

All through the plea it is the *owning* section of the Irish race—whether agricultural or manufacturing—whose interests are considered and argued for on every page.

Perhaps this accounts for the short-sightedness of the author when he tells us, in italics, on page 6, that "The Act of Union has . . . crushed Irish trade and industries," while on page 7 he says "so far back as the middle of the seventeenth century England began to legislate to destroy Irish industries."

The great woollen industry was destroyed by an Act of the English Parliament. And on page 8 we are told that "every industry to which Ireland turned was destroyed by England by the imposition of prohibitive duties or by the closing of ports."

That fifty years elapsed between the middle of the seventeenth century and the Act of Union hardly seems a sufficient reason for saddling the actions of both periods with the same single result.

How much the Home Rule movement is a capitalist movement is shown when our author boasts that "Ireland gave generals and soldiers to fight for Great Britain in South Africa" (p. 18), and has given to the British Empire some of its greatest statesmen, generals, diplomats, —men like Henry Grattan, Edmund Burke, O'Connell, Parnell, Govan Duffy, Duke of Wellington, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener—all, be it noted, toadies and lickspittles to the English ruling class.

While reference is made to the famine of 1847, not a word is said regarding the fact that it was not lack of food that caused that dire calamity, but the selling of the foodstuff to pay rent to Irish, as well as English, landlords.

On page 90, however, the truth appears. "The United Irish League is a sort of Farmers' Trade Union," we are told. Exactly. Hence its opposition to the agricultural labourers' attempts to improve their miserable position. And among the chief causes of the so-called improvement that has taken place in late years is given, "five years of Liberal administration!"

Two things, however, are done well in the brochure. One is the showing of the hopelessness of the physical force movement against England—a movement that unfortunately contains a large number of the working class in its ranks. The other is the exposure of the lumping of the self-styled loyalists of Ulster with their threat of civil war if a Home Rule Bill were passed.

The facts and figures given in the latter connection are the most valuable in pamphlet.

J. E.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Will the correspondent signing himself "A Reader of Your Paper" (Philadelphia) send his name and address?

D. CONROY, London, N. You give a whole case away when you assert that "the workers have a right to sufficient wages, but the law cannot give them the right, and so to compel their emancipation. . . . Whatever you might have urged in support of your other point, the illegality of any attack upon private property is quite beyond dispute."

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR NOVEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, East Park Gates 11.30	J. Halls	J. E. Rice	J. Holmes	A. Barker
" Prince's Head 7.30	J. Fitzgerald	F. Vickers	A. Barker	R. Fox
Clapham Common 3.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	H. Joy	R. Fox
Edmonton, the Green 7.30	C. Ginger	A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	A. Anderson
Finsbury Park 3.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns
Forest Gate, Sebert Road 11.30	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Jacobs
Ilford 7.30	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	C. Parker	F. J. Rourke
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 11.30	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald	C. Parker	H. J. Halls
Ilford 7.30	R. Fox	F. J. Rourke	C. Ginger	A. Hoskyns
Paddington, Prince of Wales 11.30	F. Vickers	J. Halls	A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald
Peckham Triangle 7.30	H. Joy	R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	J. Holmes
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dulston 11.30	T. W. Allen	F. W. Stearn	A. W. Pearson	A. Kohn
Tooting Broadway 7.30	H. Joy	A. Barker	H. Joy	F. Vickers
" 7.30	J. Holmes	A. Hoskyns	H. Joy	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 11.30	A. Pearson	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	F. Dawkins
" 7.30	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson
Walthamstow, Church Hill 8.0	F. Ryan	T. W. Allen	R. Fox	H. Joy
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road 7.30	J. E. Roe	H. Cooper	F. Vickers	H. Cooper
Watford Market Place 7.30	A. Hoskyns	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	F. J. Rourke	A. Jacobs	R. Fox	T. W. Allen
" 7.30	A. W. Pearson	C. Ginger	F. Stearn	J. Fitzgerald

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8. Copenhagen

St., Caledonian Rd., N.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's

Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m.

Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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THE**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.***The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.***Declaration of Principles****THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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LONDON, DECEMBER 1911.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE BLOODY BATTLEFIELD.

A SERIES OF COMMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

AMERICA.

THE "TRUST-BUSTER" UNMASKED.

MANY worthy people have fondly cherished the notion that Roosevelt and his fellow Republicans meant "doing for" the trusts. Our Liberal advertisement sheets have praised him for his "great fight" and accepted him as the enemy of monopoly. But, true to capitalist methods, when something more than mere words and rhetoric is required, he turns round and defends the trusts and ridicules the idea of destroying them.

In the current issue of the "Outlook," Mr. Roosevelt says:

"The big business has come to stay and it is futile to expect to return to the old days of *laissez faire*."

"The Government must see this and refrain from keeping American industries on tenterhooks and permitting foreign rivals to reap an advantage."

In the course of his article he denounces the Government for interfering with the Steel Trust, and calls President Taft's policy a "chaotic" one. So much for capitalist politicians. When they seek office they tell their poor followers that trusts can be smashed by anti-trust laws. But in the calm of other days the truth so often driven home by Socialists emerges—that combination and concentration of capital is an inevitable result of economic laws. That is the tribute of Theodore Roosevelt to Karl Marx.

IRELAND AND ITALY.

While the professional politicians of Erin talk of the benefits of Home Rule and its future influence on the conditions of life in Ireland, it may be useful to turn to the scene of many Nationalist fights for guidance.

Half a century ago the Italian States were under the heel of Austria, and a great movement arose on the part of the merchants and bourgeoisie generally to unite these States into one and overthrow Austrian domination.

Garibaldi and Mazzini were the prophets of this campaign, and after two years of terrible warfare a United Italy emerged.

The Young Italy party never tired of promising the grand results of national independence when the workers of Naples and Lombardy fought under one banner.

The peasants of Italy helped in the great fight and sacrificed their lives to provide their masters with political supremacy. To-day Italian cities are full of poverty-stricken wage-slaves, hounded down by a murderous Government; suffering from terrible diseases caused by poor food and unceasing toil.

Hundreds of thousands of descendants of Garibaldi's soldiers leave Italy every year, to push ice-cream barrows in England (or, if lucky,

to wait upon "God's Englishman), or to overthrow, so pitiful is their lot, even the Jew in the tailoring trade in America.

A sidelight upon the benefits of national autonomy is seen in the barbarities of Italy in Tripoli—the indiscriminate torture and murder of men, women, and children—the blood-lust aroused by the Italian rulers.

Help the struggling Irish capitalists to become powerful, and they will shoot down and exploit wage-slaves in Ireland just as the infamous murderers of Italy are doing in Tripoli.

In considering an independent Ireland, of course, we are taking the Irish Party too seriously. Though they never tire of talking of the villainy of the Act of Union of 1802, and of the awful results and the frightful persecution it ushered in, they no longer talk here about its repeal.

On American platforms, and years ago on English platforms, they wanted to "cut the painter"—to drive the English out of Ireland. They demanded National Independence, but now all they seek is legislative liberty in "purely Irish affairs." English lawyers will interpret this last phrase. That is the result of the agreement with the Liberal party. The one time members of the Anti-Home-Rule Liberal League are promising Ireland "Home Rule," but this depends upon their "political exigency." While the Irish hold a strategically strong position in Parliament they may get many promises and sometimes even a meagre performance.

But the United Irish League are doing a lot of harm even to their own future by urging the workers to support the Liberal party—the over-cionists and stifiers of Irish agitation throughout the 19th century.

TURKEY'S TURN.

Turkey's appeal to the Powers to stop the massacre of women and children on the part of Italy is very strange. Bulgaria, Macedonia, Roumania, Armenia! Do not these names remind us of fearful atrocities practised on men, women, and children by the agents of the Turkish Government—atrocities which still continue?

The political changes in Turkey that resulted in the victory of the Young Turks have not brought sweetness and comfort into the lives of the toilers of Turkey. Hardly had the new Government been settled before the tobacco workers of Salonika found their union under a ban, and persecuted by the "powers that be."

The silk and carpet workers, too, were trodden down worse than before. Surely this shows us that mere political changes—as when the industrial bourgeoisie succeeded to the command of affairs—bring no blessings to the slaves.

The abolition of all class rule is the only guarantee of well-being for all.

MODERN BRIGANDAGE.

Italy is a party to the treaties of the International Peace (!) Conference of the Hague. Does she refer her "dispute" to arbitration? Not likely! Where arbitration stands in the way of her extending her territory it may go to hell!

The fight for territory—the scramble for markets—will go on, despite peace conferences, arbitration leagues, and treaties. America did not want territory. Oh, no. But Cuba and the Philippines are useful. Britain sought no territory or goldfields in South Africa, India, Canada, or Australia—they were annexed to protect the weaker nations!

War and carnage find their final cause in private property, and will only end with the departure of property as an institution of social life. Non-Socialists may sigh with the poet for the time "when the war drum throbs no longer, when the battle flag is furled," but they are doomed to disappointment while they support capitalism in some form or other.

LIBERALISM V. DEMOCRACY.

Asquith again promises to give "One Man One Vote," but the Liberals have broken so many promises in this connection that merely another promise is an insult. Sixty years ago the Chartists had "Manhood Suffrage" in their "Charter," and though the Liberals have enjoyed the sweets of office far longer than the Tories in the interval, no signs of its fruition have been seen.

As a matter of fact the Liberal party betrayed the workers over "Household Suffrage" in the sixties and refused to pass a Manhood Suffrage Bill in 1884. What, however, they did do was to pass a Service Franchise Act—the Lords' amendments to which they neckly accepted. This Act increased the number of faggot votes and delayed any further extension of the Suffrage still further. To-day men do not get votes, but bricks and mortar are enfranchised! "One Man One Vote" was on the Manchester Programme in 1892, but the Liberals were too busy murdering miners at Featherstone to deal with it.

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

"The will of the people must and shall prevail," shout the Liberal politicians. What a canting cry! They were so busy with this cry when the Budget had been pushed aside by the Lords that they forgot to mention that they had always denied "the people" a chance to express their will. Seven and three-quarter millions out of an adult population of over twenty millions alone are on the register!

As for women, though they are intelligent enough to produce millions in the mills and factories, Asquith & Co. says they are not fit to have a voice in the affairs of social life. From

the time when they threw out John Stuart Mill's Bill in the House of Commons until to day they have set their faces against womanhood suffrage. That section of their Party which supports the Conciliation Bill of the Suffragettes do so because it will be an effective foil to full and complete suffrage.

Under this measure married women of the working class will be shut out because they do not independently rent or own property. Hence Lady Frances Balfour and her friends support it.

"TRUST THE PEOPLE!"

Strange it may seem, but at the same time as Asquith & Co. were talking of "what they were going to do" with the Franchise, the "Morning Leader," a Liberal trustified rag, remarked that the suppression of questions in Parliament regarding England, Morocco, and Italy showed "paradoxical as it may seem," that it was just when a strong Liberal Government was in power that the people had least influence upon foreign policy.

And it had previously pointed out that the Parliamentary tactics of the Government proved that it was a farce to talk of the English people having political liberty.

It may seem strange, but it is only to be expected that these sweaters, company promoters, and lawyers calling themselves a Liberal party, should want to carry on their own game quietly and alone. Despite treaties against it, English soldiers are occupying Persia with a view to annexation. These treaties, of course, are arranged by swashbuckler Sir Edward Grey, and he being a Liberal, hates Democracy. Thus rules this "greatest democratic Government of our time."

THE CENTENARY OF THE CHILDREN'S ENEMY.

Crowded audiences have been listening to enthusiastic eulogies of John Bright on the part of Liberal politicians, and his native town of Rochdale has celebrated the event with the aid of speeches from Mr. Augustine Birrell. The Cobden Club did "honour" to Bright's memory by a banquet at the Hotel Cecil, at which all the place hunters and time-servers of the Liberal party attended.

On November 16th, 1811, John Bright "first saw the light," and at the banquet Lord Welby painted a pretty, but false picture of his life.

He said: "He was a type of Christian Statesman—a leader of mankind and a man whom the country was proud to listen to and proud to follow. His name was revered for his love of liberty, his hatred of wrong, and his splendid and massive simplicity of character."

His love of liberty and his hatred of wrong! Bright was a wealthy cotton lord, and could quite peacefully see the wholesale murder of women and tiny tots in the factories. The suffering of the workers during the "hungry forties" provoked no attempt at redress on his part, and the Chartists, asking for "political liberty," found him their most unscrupulous foe.

Bright and others wanted cheap flour to body up their cotton goods, and also cheap bread so as to keep wages low, and in their fight for Free Trade they sought the support of the workers. As Bright's Liberal biographer, Vince, says: "The efforts of the Free Traders to enlist the support of the working classes brought them into collision with the Chartists." These latter, he says, "traced the distress to other causes than Protection." He tells us that the Rochdale Chartists had carried an amendment against Bright at a meeting in 1839.

Bright & Co. were furious with these doughty opponents of the "base, bloody, and brutal Liberal party."

Of his opposition to the Factory Acts Vince says he never apologised for it or ceased to regard them as mistaken legislation. It is not merely of historical interest to recall these days of Liberal unstinted triumph and *laissez-faire*. To-day, when Lord Welby, Sir John Simon, and Augustine Birrell tell us what we owe to the Liberals, we can thrust these fairy tales down their lying throats and silence them with the records of this bloody time. How awful were the conditions the Free Trade Freebooters inaugurated and continued may be glimpsed from a quotation or two from Edwin Hodder's "Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury."

"A horrible traffic had sprung up; child jobbers scoured the country for the purpose of purchasing children to sell them again into the bondage of factory slaves. The waste of human life in the manufactories to which the children were consigned was simply frightful. Day and night the machinery was kept going; one gang of children working it by day and another by night, while in times of pressure the same children were kept working day and night by remorseless taskmasters."

SUFFER LITTLE CHILDREN.

Hodder also says: "Sick with aching backs and inflamed ankles from the constant stooping, with fingers lacerated from scraping the floors; parched and suffocated by the dust and fumes—the little slaves toiled from morning until night. If they paused the brutal overlooker, who was responsible for a certain amount of work being performed by each child under him, urged them on by kicks and blows. . . . Stage by stage they sank into the profoundest depths of wretchedness. In weariness they often fell upon the machinery and every factory child was more or less injured through hunger, neglect, over-fatigue, and poisonous air. They died in terrible numbers, swept off by contagious fevers. . . . If they perished in the machinery it was a rare thing for a coroner's inquest to be held and a rarer still for it to issue anything but a common-place verdict. And when the time came that their indentures expired, after years of toil, averaging fourteen hours a day, with their bodies scarred with the wounds inflicted by the overseers—with their minds dwarfed and vacant, with their constitutions in many cases hopelessly injured, these unfortunate apprentices found they had never been taught the trade they should have learned, and they had no resource whatever but to enter again upon the hateful life from which they were legally freed."

Ye gods! Was ever greater confusion than this? No wonder Mr. H. Quelch was moved to say that "the majority of the S.D.P. do not understand what political action means." (See "Justice" 19.2.10.) But to make confusion worse confounded, H. Russell Smart, in a "criticism" of the above ("Justice" 11.11.11) says:

"LABOUR" SUPPORTS CHILD MURDER.

No worker can read this bulky volume of Shaftesbury's life, with its heartrending story of the murder of women and children, to say nothing of men, without vowing to bend his efforts to sweep away for ever this rotten society they call "Civilisation." Robert Southey, the poet, wrote to Shaftesbury: "I do not believe anything more inhuman has ever disgraced human nature in any age or country. Was I not right in saying that Moloch is a more merciful fiend than Mammon? Death in the brazen arms of the Carthaginian idol was mercy to the slow waste of life in the factories." (Feb. 7, 1833.)

Was Southey wrong? But after this exposure of the sacrifice of the children to the 19th century Moloch by the bloody Liberal party, what can the toilers think of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, chairman of the Labour Party, speaking in unstinted praise of John Bright at the Anniversary gathering at Whitefields whitewashing Tabernacle? (Nov. 17, 1911.) Surely we are right in branding him and his Party as enemies of the workers, traitors to our class. This last act of his is only in keeping with his other exhibition of treachery in backing Sir John Brunner's Education (amendment) Bill in 1906, which reduced the age for leaving school to eleven years.

A. KOHN.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "New York Call" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
- "The Star of the East" (Melbourne).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "The New World" (West Ham).
- "Freedom" (London).

FOR REVIEW.

- "The Trial of Democracy," by the Archbishop of York. 3d. Birmingham: Cornish Bros.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

JOTTINGS.

"Justice" of Nov. 4th, '11, contained an article on Socialism and Social Reform. In it the one who wrote it pointed out that "not Social Reform, but Socialism, is the remedy for our Social evils. The former has been tried and found lamentably wanting. Instead of progressing the working classes (!) are going back. Even the least intelligent person must, under the circumstances, come to the conclusion that there is something radically wrong with the methods pursued to 'better' the social conditions of the people. The truth is, we must fall back on fundamental questions."

So far so good. But a little further on the writer informs us that the "Nationalisation of Railways is the most immediate task before us. . . . The Nationalisation of our (!) mines is no less pressing. . . . Of no less importance is the Nationalisation of the Land. . . . We do not mean to imply that National Ownership of Railways, Mines and Land is the goal of Socialism, however much this would help us along. These aims are only part of our policy, but they are those parts which can, and should, be immediately fulfilled."

This funny fellow, who wants to nationalise mines which he says are already "ours," in the very next paragraph says:

"Statistics show that all these schemes of Social Reform have not affected the central problem—the distribution of wealth; they have only succeeded in confusing the issue!"

Ye gods! Was ever greater confusion than this? No wonder Mr. H. Quelch was moved to say that "the majority of the S.D.P. do not understand what political action means." (See "Justice" 19.2.10.) But to make confusion worse confounded, H. Russell Smart, in a "criticism" of the above ("Justice" 11.11.11) says:

"But the revolutionary attitude does not exclude sound reform so long as it really is reform and not merely attempts to introduce palliatives of poverty. This has always been the handicap upon the progress of the S.D.P. Tied up by tradition to non-Socialist palliatives, it has never been able to press forward with a really revolutionary policy."

Murder will out, you see!

Marx ("Communist Manifesto," p. 27): "A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society. To this section belong improvers of the condition of the working class, . . . hole and corner reformers of every imaginable kind." In order to show what the revolutionary attitude is Marx says: "The immediate aim of the Communists is the . . . formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat. The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer." ("Communist Manifesto," p. 17.)

One cannot help agreeing with Mr. Hyndman when he says that "the majority of that organisation [S.D.P.] were wholly destitute of political aptitude and that very much was to be desired in respect of their understanding of the basic principles of Socialism." (See 21st. Conference report of S.D.P.) Truly the S.D.P. believe with Anna Rice that "Everything in this world comes right of yo only wait long enuff."

At a Suffragist meeting held in London recently, the collection realised £4,000. ("Daily Dispatch," 16.11.11.)

This should be of interest to labour fakers and pseudo-Socialists generally, who shout for and support the Women's Suffrage Movement in the fond delusion that enfranchisement will give propertyless women sex equality. It serves to show which class expects to benefit the most from its institution, and who are prepared to pay in order to secure their object, viz., social power.

The "Labour" candidate at Oldham, Mr. C. Robinson, proved himself as good a Liberal as the official Liberal candidate, Mr. Stanley. In an interview published in the "Manchester Guardian" of Oct. 25 he said: "On general questions I am a strong supporter of Home Rule and I am equally as firm in my support of Free Trade."

With regard to the Insurance Bill I feel the principle is an extremely good one and one which it is imperatively necessary should be carried out. . . . As to commercial questions, I am in favour of the Bill which I understand either has been or shortly will be submitted to Parliament with the object of reforming the Company Law so as to get rid, as nearly as possible, of the Company Promoter and assist in enabling companies to be formed for business purposes."

The "Notes and Comments" writer in the "Labour Leader" (27.10.11), writing of the Keighley bye-election, said:

"The mere return of a Liberal would not add to the dignity of Keighley by a single hair's breadth. Keighley is a labouring town, and it would simply be stultifying itself to send an antagonist of the Labour Party to Parliament."

Then followed certain measures which "Keighley desires" (but did not vote for). This was all very well for the "Labour Leader" if the writer had stopped there, but he commenced his next paragraph by writing:

"Needless to say, the above remarks are addressed to Keighley alone."

which, while perfectly true, gave the show away. The return of Liberals in other "labouring towns" along with "Labour" candidates, is a horse of another colour. Halifax, Leicester, Blackburn, Bolton, and Dundee are all cases where the Liberal is the friend, and not the antagonist, of the Labour Party in Parliament.

When the Socialist Party have stated that the Eight Hours Day is no solution, or even partial solution, for the unemployed "problem," they have been pooh-poohed. Many instances have, however, borne out their contention, and now here is another. Listen to Lord Furness, presiding at the Broomhill Collieries annual meeting on September 29th, 1911.

"The crux of the position was, however, the burning question of three shifts versus two. I wish to make it perfectly clear—speaking not only for myself but for my colleagues on the Board—that the moment the three shift system was abolished our company would be unable to work its collieries, and they proposed to close them at once. The substitution at Broomhill Collieries of two for three shifts, according to a report from the manager, would entail a loss of £30,000 to £40,000 per annum."

Comment would spoil it.

The "Labour Leader" (3.11.11) quotes from the "Leicester Pioneer" giving Mr. J. R. MacDonald's views on the Railway Commission, thus:

"Upon one point I can speak with some knowledge. It is stated that the men agreed to accept the findings of the Commission, whatever they were. That is not the case. The representatives of the Government imposed upon us again and again that the report would have to be the subject of consideration, and nothing happened which makes it dishonourable or impossible for the men to reject the proposals of the Commission."

Now one of the terms upon which the recent strike was settled was:

"Steps to be taken forthwith to effect the settlement of the questions now in dispute between the Companies and classes of their employees not included within the Conciliation Scheme of 1907 by means of conferences between representatives of the Companies and representatives of their employees, who are themselves employed by the same company, and, failing agreement by arbitration, to be arranged mutually or by the Board of Trade. THE ABOVE TO BE A TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT PENDING THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF SETTLING DISPUTES."

Judging by the conclusion, the Commission was to evolve a permanent method of settling disputes.

The Commission was to investigate the scheme of 1907 and "report what changes were desirable with a view to the prompt and satisfactory settlement of differences." And this follows:

"Assurances have been given by both parties that they will accept the findings of the Commission." Which makes MacDonald look a liar.

J. B. S.

REVIEW.

"THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY," by Joseph Clayton, M.A. London: Messrs. Cassell. 2s. 6d. nett.

We are informed in the preface to the above book that: "The aim of the present writer has been to trace the travelled road of the English people towards democracy, and to point to certain landmarks on that road, in the hope that readers may be turned to examine more closely for themselves the journey taken."

The hope is barren. Far more important is it to day to know *why* a particular road has been travelled, as, until this is done, the question of whether we shall continue on the old road or seek a new one cannot be answered.

Traced the road the author certainly has, but that is all. Nowhere does he go below the surface of things; nowhere does he attempt to give the causes lying below the effects he pictures. And if it be pleaded that want of space is the reason, numerous passages dealing with unimportant details could have been deleted, and, above all, the fifteen or so pages of fulsome flattery of John Burns, Ramsay MacDonald, Keir Hardie and—in a lesser degree—Lloyd George, could have been reduced to the same number of lines to the benefit of the reader.

Whether from want of knowledge or want of courage, the author never leaves the beaten, respectable track. The landmarks are well chosen and the narrative often good, but the connection between them is seldom made, and is most often weak even when it is presented.

Democracy is defined as "government through elected representatives," and some of the best work in the book is that showing the views of those wishing to elect these representatives.

How the working class were left out of all consideration by those calling upon that class to oppose kingly oppression is shown, not only in the early stages against the absolutism of the Crown, but equally so under the Commonwealth.

"Democracy was never in the minds of men like Hampden, . . . and was utterly uncongenial to Cromwell and the Commonwealth men."

"In all these changes," says the author, dealing with the overthrow of Charles 1st and the reign of Cromwell, "the great mass of the people had neither part nor lot; and the famous leaders of the Parliamentary party, resolute to curtail the absolutism of the Crown, were no more concerned with the welfare of the labouring people than the Barons were in the time of John."

The failure of all the popular risings is noted to show "the impossibility in England of achieving democracy by the violent overthrow of Government" when as a matter of fact these failures show how necessary is the control of political power by any class wishing to accomplish its emancipation.

How chary our author is of seeking causes is further illustrated when referring to the Chartist movement. Although stating that "the lot of the labourer and the artisan was found to be worse than it was in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, before the great Reform Act was passed," no word is given as to the reasons for this greater misery. The ruthless exploitation of men, women and children by the canting capitalists, and more especially by the hypocritical Liberals conducting the Anti Corn Law agitation, is not even referred to.

This may be because the author's view—as shown when criticising Rousseau—is that man "is not born free, but is born with a free will to work out political freedom or to consent to servitude." (Italics mine.)

How scientific! No wonder that in giving a list of books on Socialism the names of the founders of it—Marx and Engels—are left out. Their clear and unrefuted, aye, irrefutable, exposition of the driving forces in the develop-

ment of society would open the eyes of the readers to the danger of the peace and comfort of the ruling class.

On page 192 an illustration is given to show the absence of any essential difference between Liberal and Tory parties, even in ordinary political matters, for the Tories passed the County Councils Act (establishing among others the London County Council), the Liberals the Parish Councils, and the Tories the London Borough Councils Acts.

When dealing with present-day affairs some curious points are made. We are told on page 196 that "the arrival of the Labour members increased, rather than diminished, the good behaviour" of the House of Commons.

How interesting! But what will those members of the I.L.P. think who fancy the "Labour" men are there to fight for the interests of the toilers to find this converted into lessons in good behaviour?

Of John Burns we are told that "his robust egoism"—what a gentle phrase for illimitable canting conceit!—"is largely a class pride" and "the motive power at work all the time in his career" is "the triumph of his class."

It is difficult to find language to correctly characterise such statements. The capitalists to-day have no agent so ready to sneer and jeer at the working class as the empty braggart of Battersea. Everywhere he can he opposes any movement of the working class, however feeble, on its own behalf, and preaches reliance on the Liberals. When we are told that Burns "does not appreciate sufficiently that the gifts he possesses . . . are exceptional," and that he "never admits he possesses health and vigour beyond the average," we have only to attend one of Burns' speeches—say in Battersea—to get full refutation of the ridiculous statement. The personal pronoun predominates all through. The listener soon learns that no statesman, no athlete, no mechanic, no orator that ever lived came nearer than just within nodding distance of the capabilities and powers of the "Great I Am"—to give him the name by which he is so well known in Battersea—according to John Burns, at any rate.

Mr. Keir Hardie is said to have "striven to create a working-class party in politics independent of Liberals and Conservatives."

The Labour Party's complete dependence on and alliance with the Liberal party to-day shows the ghastly failure of Keir Hardie's "striving."

In dealing with Ramsay MacDonald, however, one or two truths leak out. For instance, the author says: "As an ordinary Liberal or Radical, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald would never have had the opportunities the Labour Party has given him."

This is a most awkward admission for the "intellectual asset" of the I.L.P., and will go far to explain why he left one section of the Liberal party to become, first secretary, then chairman, of the other section.

The rank and file of the I.L.P. will to doubt be pleased to hear that Mr. MacDonald is "the controlling power in that organisation," and that we may expect to see him "a Cabinet Minister in a Liberal Labour Government." The word "Labour" is doubtless introduced here to parry the action that MacDonald has threatened to take against anyone who says he is seeking office—probably because the seeking is over.

For one who admits that Social Reform "does not propose to remove the cause of poverty," it seems curious to see the topsy-turvydom of his ideas regarding Socialism. On page 224 we are told that the "revisionists" are gaining the mastery over the scientific Marxian Socialists in democratic politics, "in seemingly blissful ignorance of the fact that it is the very growth of scientific Marxism that is driving section after section of the apologetes for capitalism to take up the revisionist or social reform attitude to delude the working class." To talk of the "revisionists" gaining mastery assumes that the Marxists at some previous period were more numerous or more powerful than they are to-day—an assumption in direct contradiction to the facts. Marx and Marxists could be ignored even a few years ago. The so-called "revisionist" movement is but the start of the apologetes for capitalism, who can no longer ignore, so attempt to misrepresent, Marx and his works.

J. FITZGERALD.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standard,

FRIDAY,



DEC. 1, 1911.

THE BRITISH "SOCIALIST" PARTY.

The recent revolt against leaders on the industrial plane has spread to the pseudo-Socialist movement, and the S.D.P., to save its rapidly declining organisation from ignominious extinction, has taken what its leaders consider a revolutionary move. It is true it has done the same thing before. Originally the Democratic Federation, it became the Social-Democratic Federation and then the Social-Democratic Party. Never having the intelligence to adopt the Socialist platform and the courage to declare consistently for Socialism, it dragged, like Marley's ghost, a seemingly endless chain—not of "deeds," however, but of reforms.

Now that many of its members have agreed to transfer their allegiance to the new firm, Grayson & Co., the S.D.P. has decided to—change its name again. To use its own editorial words:

"There must be no individual desertions. . . . We must take her [the S.D.P.] into port with flying colours, not a wreck, not a derelict, but sound, seaworthy, and weathertight, because we are exchanging into a bigger and more powerful vessel, and one which will still fly the old Red Flag of Social Democracy which our old ship never lowered and never disgraced."

The same flag; the same propaganda; the same method of "keeping the flag flying." As at Northampton, Burnley, Walthamstow, West Ham, Hampstead, Kennington, and Camberne.

For long the membership of the S.D.P. has been declining, branches have seceded, its own speakers have repudiated its "leaders," and its "immediate demands" have been held up to ridicule even in its own ranks. The T.C.P. is a financial wreck, and the officials see no guarantee of future salaries. So they magnanimously join hands with the politically bankrupt Grayson, in an endeavour to rope in the "floating Socialists," and incidentally, to bring again within the fold those who have broken away from the bureaucratic rule of the S.D.P.

At a time when the workers are ready to clutch at straws, when the "labour leaders" in Parliament and the trade union officials have opened the workers' eyes to the folly of leaders, the B.S.P. is doubly dangerous. The men are disgusted with the inaction of the Labour Party and the inefficiency of the strike, and doubtless many will be tricked into joining this new organisation with its mouthing of revolution—for what?

To be again misled and betrayed by the old gang in a new party.

At a preliminary Conference in connection with this Party, held in Manchester on Oct. 1, 1911, Mr. Tom Groom, in moving an amendment to delete a reference to the class war, said ("Justice," 7.10.11):

"Many people were not clear as to what 'class war,' referred to in the resolution, meant, and he did not exactly recognise it."

Mr. F. Hagger, who seconded, recognised the existence of a class war, but he "wanted to take a

reasonable view of the situation." Mr. J. Hunter Watts wanted to include "revolutionary demands." "He granted that there were two kinds of Social Reform, but when they demanded that the labour of the unemployed should be organised on a self-supporting basis, what was that but a revolutionary demand?" It was, he said, childish for a Socialist to "oppose all palliation."

And Mr. Russell Smart promptly did it. He "knew the deterioration that went on in any organisation when they devoted themselves to social reforms. The new party must have nothing to do with tinkering up the present system but must destroy it, root and branch."

Groom, Hagger, Smart and Watts were elected to draft the Constitution!

Meanwhile, let us see where the B.S.P. stands. Firstly we are told by Grayson that the B.S.P. "was not to oppose the Labour Party in the House." Although he had described the "Labour" men as "traitors and cowards," yet there is no need to oppose them. The I.L.P., however, has taken up the gauntlet, and has advised its branches to "excommunicate" all Graysonians. In response Mr. Leonard Hall says:

Mr. C. Chesterton tells us that "the Labour" ("Clarion," 13.10.11) "the B.S.P. did not attack the Labour Party," and then proceeds to show his brotherly love in the following diatribe:

"In the whole course of its five to six years' existence this practical and constructive Party—though dreaming not unprofitable dreams on P.S.A. platforms and making a shibboleth of Socialism in the tabernacles—has failed to put up one serious fight for the unemployed, and instead of pressing, in season and out of season, for an increase in the workers' share of the wealth the workers produce, or for a lessening of their intolerable dependence for the means of livelihood on the profiteering interests, it has never aroused itself to enthusiasm over anything except its own salaries and such typically Liberalist and non-Socialist machine measures as the fussy and fiddling Licensing Bill; the Lloyd George Budget which clapped £8,000,000 yearly on to the taxation of the working classes (and as to which extra burden the 'Labour' Party refused even to propose an amendment!); the pantomimic scrap over the Lords' Veto, which was carefully pre-arranged between the two Front Benches in the interests of caucus discipline and despotism; the Labour Exchanges fraud, which, though useless for labour, is a considerable convenience for blacklegs and employers, and has provided many comfortable billets for the faithful, at the expense of the taxes; and now—when the last remaining defensive right in the workers' hands, the power of the sudden strike, is threatened, a wicked assortment of conciliation swindles and arbitration man traps that these 'social evolutionists' are doing their utmost to persuade their followers to lie down to. It is true, indeed, as your contemporary perceives, 'the revolutionary Socialists have one outlook and method, and the constructive Socialists [meaning the Lloyd Georgian dupes and decoys] another outlook and method.' For which we devoutly give thanks to the gods."

Party has failed—failed not only completely but ignominiously. The whole thing had from the beginning an element of dishonesty." He further refers to "that vile thing called social reform, whose name is true slavery," while Mr. G. R. S. Taylor declares that the Labour Party (whom he describes as "a hutchful of gentle white rabbits with pink eyes") must be "pushed off the path." Yet "the B.S.P. will be ready to accept any real reforms, whether offered by Liberals or Tories."

Further on we are told that "people who think they can get anything worth having out of Liberals and Progressives are welcome to their child-like trust, but in the name of charity we pray they will not call themselves Socialists."

In fact, on the question of reform they are entirely at sea. Mr. Russell Smart rushes into a controversy in "Justice" in reply to "J.C.," who advocates Nationalisation of "our" Railways, Mines and Land as "a policy that aims at revolutionary changes by revolutionary methods."

Smart objects to these reforms and tells "J.C." that his confusion arises from the fact that he does not "understand what we mean by the terms we use."

"To re-form Society," says he, "is equivalent to revolutionizing Society," while "revolution is

primarily an ethical reconstruction of the inter-relationships of the units of Society. Society is the whole, the individuals the component parts. This attitude [?], when realised, involves brotherhood, and brotherhood involves the abolition of profit making as the incentive of production."

And there you are! What could be plainer? Yet "J.C." again stirs the muddy pool with a few explanations ("Justice," 18.11.11) and gives an example of the curious notions that occupy the brain of the B.S.P.-er. "Social reform," it appears, is a betterment of conditions, yet apparently he, as a member of the B.S.P., is against some reforms. In reply to Smart he

"agrees that 'social organisation must proceed by stages' and by the conscious effort of the people. There are some who believe that as soon as the working classes have made themselves masters of the political machinery our desires will be accomplished in a very short time. I do not hold with them. Such a quick change might be possible, though not probable, if Gt. Britain were surrounded by a kind of Chinese wall. But as long as we, as a great industrial nation, are largely dependent upon countries economically and politically in a backward state of development, we cannot hope to attain pure Socialism. We should be constantly exposed to the influence of the anarchic system of production still in vogue in those parts. The probability is that we shall first reach a stage of some sort of 'bureaucratic Collectivism,' as my critic calls it. But I totally disagree with his views concerning the effect of such a system on the well-being of the working classes. It is quite true that the 'workman gets the subsistence he is capable of enforcing, and nothing more,' but there is more than one way of enforcing the workman's claim. For instance, in municipalities where the representatives of the working classes are numerous or dominate the council the employees of the community are in a much better position than where this is not the case. And how much more potent must be the political influence of a Socialist majority in Parliament! Of course, the nationalisation of railways, mines, and the land, which I regard as the most immediately pressing questions, may be thinkable under a purely capitalist administration; but it is not probable, especially not in face of a strong movement amongst the masses for Socialism, which will drive all exploiters into the same camp."

"My critic's question, 'What does it matter how much is paid for the nationalisation of monopolies?' presupposes a state of society in which the working classes are of no account whatever. A Parliament intent upon securing for the people the fullest possible result of their labour would soon find out that there is a great difference in paying to railway bondholders 50 millions instead of, say, 15 millions. Neither do I agree with his contention that we should be indifferent to the fate of our industries, and that there is nothing that the capitalist can do except wait."

The B.S.P. idea of Socialism is undoubtedly British and confined to these islands. We must be careful not to drive capital from the country; we must prevent the capitalist from carting "our" railways, "our" mines and "our" land abroad. How could we establish Socialism without any land? Answer that, Russell, my boy.

The leading article in "Justice" of Oct. 28, endeavours to explain that "it is no part of the duty of the Socialist Party to strive for the realisation of any immediate social reforms that may be demanded by the working class." But the article goes on to say, "we Socialists have favoured reforms and have formulated a whole programme of palliative measures. Quite true. But the measures we put forward were opposed—not demanded, by the working class." What stupidity! It is good and sound action, then, to support a palliative when the working class don't want it, but unsound to ask for it when they do!

"When we first advocated our 'Practical Remedies for Pressing Needs' in 1882, we spoke of them as stepping stones, and that is what they were. . . . And that is the difference between the immediate practical measures supported by a revolutionary Socialist Party and the social reforms so much beloved by the silly" etc., etc.

Now we have it—Reforms *v.* palliatives; step

ping stones *v.* practical measures. Just imagine the common or garden propagandist endeavouring to explain all this at the first B.S.P. meeting!

There are quite a lot more "definitions," but one other "explanation" from "Justice" of October 21 will suffice.

"There seems still to be a good deal of misunderstanding in the S.D.P. as to some of the proceedings of the Socialist Unity Conference at Manchester. This is particularly so with regard to the deletion of the clause having reference to social reforms in the resolution put forward as the basis of unity. It has been assumed that the deletion was practically a rejection of all advocacy of and support for any kind of palliative proposal. . . . The members of the S.D.P. may rest assured that they are under a mistaken impression if they think that this is so. The deletion of the reference to social reforms must not be taken to signify anything more than a rejection of the phraseology of that reference."

A good start was made at Manchester by T. Groom in the repudiation of the basic principle of the Socialist propaganda—the class war.

Russell Smart, however, goes further in an article aptly entitled "The Scrap Heap." "The formation of the B.S.P.," he states, "has enabled us to carry out a much-needed scrapping of worn out mental rubbish. Take, for example, the unfortunate conception, class consciousness. Class-conscious people are never Socialists. Socialism is no more to be achieved by fighting this particular class struggle to a finish than by any of the others. Even if successful it would merely leave in possession an array of manual workers, many of whom are exploiting each other, destitute of science, medicine, art, literature and culture, which they would have to create anew and in so doing, re-create in their own ranks the classes they have destroyed."

What a conception! After this can we wonder that the "united" party are at loggerheads? Such an absurd statement prepares the reader for the following:

"The Marxian theory of value is no more tenable to-day than the Darwinian, or rather Lamarckian, theory of the transmission of acquired characteristics. The catastrophic collapse of capitalist society caused by its own development has been falsified by events and greater economic knowledge. Controlled as the system is by human agencies, it adapts itself to new circumstances, and will endure as long as society is content that it shall. The phrases themselves do no harm; they are debatable matters. The evil arises when they are elevated into dogmas the acceptance of which is essential to salvation."

Here, then, is our recantation; let some poet of the movement set it forth in noble verse and some composer dignify it with solemn music:

"I do not believe that Karl Marx was the son of God, nor do I believe in the Marxian theory of value."

"I do not believe in the infallibility of Darwin, nor his theory of evolution."

"I do not believe in the class war, nor do I desire class-consciousness."

With Grayson, Blatchford and the rest, Smart has routed out the scientific teaching of Marx, and asserts that "society is to be saved by love, and not hatred," we are to "love the sinners tho' we hate the sins."

So, you who propose joining the B.S.P., cast aside that hatred you feel for the boss and fall upon his neck as a brother long lost but newly found. Do not enter into a beastly class struggle, but gently wean him from his evil ways and ask him to join the B.S.P. Do all these things in love and gentleness, and, in the words of Smart, your "most extravagant hopes will be more than realised."

In the leader of "Justice" (same issue) this of love is extended to the political field, where, we are told, "the best course is to openly vote for the Conservatives," but strange to say, "in order to defeat the Liberals."

It is but the old policy with a new label. The old misleaders in new masks, endeavouring to gull the workers into again placing political power in the hands of the enemy. To hell with their "policy of love"! There can be no love between robber and robbed. There can be but

THE SOCIALIST
AND
TRADE UNIONISM.

(CONTINUED FROM NOVEMBER ISSUE.)

We have seen that, in order that the ordinary laws of the competitive market shall find those presupposed conditions in the labour market without which they do not operate, in order, that is to say, that labour-power shall exchange for the cost of its production instead of the cost of its production shaping itself according to the rate of its exchange, combination becomes necessary on the part of the sellers of labour-power.

But the object of this combination, not being revolutionary, does not essentially demand that the combination shall have a revolutionary basis.

To struggle for higher wages and better conditions is not revolutionary in any sense of the word; and the essential weapons in this struggle are not revolutionary either.

True, the real interest of the working class demands that the basis of every working class organisation shall be revolutionary—but that is because it demands the revolutionisation of the whole system.

But first of all it demands, not the revolutionising of the basis of working class organisations, but the revolutionising of the workers themselves.

For how can it be supposed that any mere paper-inscribed revolutionary basis is going to help in the attainment of a revolutionary end if the only force behind it—the members constituting the organisation—have not the revolutionary consciousness?

When the Socialist Party was formed it was formed for a revolutionary purpose. The first thing to be done, therefore, was to put it on a revolutionary basis. This was defined in a declaration of principles. Only those who can accept these principles are admitted to membership, for only such are fit material for the prosecution of the revolutionary purpose.

On the other hand, trade unions are necessary, not to overthrow the present system, but to resist capitalist encroachment under the system. In this case the essential basis is that which will serve for the organisation of the fit material for the purpose in view.

To fix upon a revolutionary basis in this case and under present conditions must be one of these two things: If it is made a condition of membership it must, because of the smallness of the number of those who have reached the revolutionary stage, render the organisation futile for the purpose which calls it into existence; on the other hand, if the revolutionary basis, having been laid down, is ignored—is not insisted upon as the indispensable condition of admittance to membership, then the organisation is not on a revolutionary foundation in the first place, and the revolutionary idea is degraded, and the workers are deluded and confused in the second place.

For the principles of an organisation can only have two virtues. First, as a basis of organisation—a test of membership; secondly as a guide to action. Apart from these, principles are not worth the breath that avows them.

And if the principles are not first made the basis of organisation, if they are not accepted by the membership as pointing the way to their object, they cannot become the guide to action.

Clearly, then, the attitude of the Socialist towards trade unions is well defined. When he says that labour power has the commodity nature he says that it must express its value through a struggle in the labour market. When he asserts that wages are determined in the long run by the cost of subsistence, he asserts that that law is the outcome of the struggle in the labour market. Both these statements force him to the conclusion that the non-revolutionary phase of the struggle between the classes is as inevitable as the revolutionary. Therefore he would not either reduce the trade unions to impotence by closing them to non-Socialists, or spread confusion by getting them to avow principles which are not necessary to their object, and which the members do not hold.

He must, therefore, accept trade unions as they are, and, realising that all their grave and

SOAP.

When I hear of the master class advocating better conditions and higher wages for the worker, as a Socialist I am naturally suspicious. For instance: "If we are to have trade and commerce we must look upon the worker as a brother" savours of a consummation much desired by certain (mis)leaders of the working class.

The above quotation is from a speech delivered by Sir W. H. Lever, on the occasion of his presentation of Rivington Hall to the town of Bolton recently.

Personally, Sir William may have great faith in the efficacy of soap—for more reasons than one—but his partiality for the "soft" variety is easily seen. He has employed it on various occasions with more or less success.

"A man who has worked all through the day at an employment which, compared with ours as employers, is monotonous and wearing, wants more opportunities of elevating himself, and if he doesn't get them sinks to the level of a machine. . . . Low wages mean insufficient food and clothing, child labour and low intelligence, and with a low intelligence we can never have the power to withstand the competition of other nations."

There you have it! The cat is out!

It is the fear of foreign competition that alarms him; fear that some brother shark might snatch some of the trade that he is "entitled to." For after all it is a case of big robber and little robber. The bigger the trade the bigger the spoils. It is himself and his shareholders he is thinking about, and not the condition of the workers—at least, only to the extent that their "bettered" condition will be of benefit to himself. As a capitalist he seeks slaves who are productive, for is it not cheaper to have a worker who is "fit" than one who is underfed and worn out? Mr. Lever has probably discovered that "well paid" workers pay the best.

But what is it that prevents the worker from having "more opportunities of elevating himself"? What factor is it that tends to push the worker below the level of a machine?

Simply this. That the means of producing the necessities of life are held by the class of which Mr. Lever is a representative. Whether the worker is engaged in making soap or shrouds he is dominated by the machine. It is the control of the machine, and therefore of the product, that is responsible for the modern capitalist; and the robbery of the workers is its inevitable result.

It means that Mr. Lever and his class stand in the way. When the workers acquire sufficient sense to kick them out, then they will have a chance to "elevate" themselves. That's all. TOM SALA.

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undeniable faults are but the reflection of the mental shortcomings of their members, realise that it is in the latter that the revolutionary foundation is necessary, and act accordingly.

It is hardly necessary to say that those so-called Socialists who would close the economic organisation to the non-Socialist would do two other things besides. They would bar the Socialist from the non-Socialist trade union, and they would shut the doors of the Socialist political organisation to all members of such unions.

The logic of this is, first, that the non-revolutionary struggle in the economic field is not necessary, or

That the struggle against capitalist encroachment under capitalism is revolutionary.

If the struggle is not necessary it is, of course, quite logical for a Socialist party to demand that its members shall have none of it. On the other hand, if the struggle is revolutionary it is perfectly logical for the Socialist to demand that the economic organisations formed to prosecute that struggle be revolutionary also.

The present scribe has never met with one of the gentlemen whose faith he is attacking, who, being asked the plain question: "Is it necessary for the workers to struggle for better wages and conditions of labour," would dare answer no; or who, being asked if such struggle is revolutionary, dare answer yes.

So our non-trade-unionist critic, in his mad endeavour to restrict the actions of the class-conscious worker to the purely revolutionary object, gets himself into a most illogical position. He starts by declaring that nothing but Socialism concerns the Socialist. He perceives that this implies that the Socialist must be able to detach himself from the world that is, since it is not a Socialist world. Well, everything must be distorted to fit his pet theories. He professes himself able to so detach himself. He declares that he can view all things "as a Socialist," which with him means from the standpoint that nothing matters but Socialism. When he is put to the question of his attitude toward trade unions he shuts his eyes and jumps.

Of course, it is a rather awkward situation. To say that the Socialist can view all things from the standpoint that nothing matters but Socialism is an easy matter, but it wants a deal of upholding when the worker has got to view the labour market from the standpoint of the seller of labour power. Is he, if he understands Socialist economics, and therefore all the better understands the necessity of the struggle against capitalist encroachment, to give up personal participation in that struggle? Is he, directly he becomes armed and equipped for the battle of the future, to be rendered powerless and paralytic in the equally necessary struggle of the present?

If, when a worker attains to class-consciousness, he ceases to require food, clothing and shelter, ceases to be a vendor of labour power, ceases to be under the necessity which all commodity owners are under—of fighting for the realisation of the value of his commodity, in this case labour-power; if, in short, he ceases to be anything but a pure abstraction in whom even the charitable raven could find no want to minister to, no lodgment for a beakful of material sustenance, then it might be logical to say that no Socialist can belong to a trade union.

But if the class-conscious worker still must live by the sweat of his brow, or rather by the sale of his potential energy, then he must resort to the instruments which make the conditions of a sale, as distinct from the conditions which environ the chattel slave's dole.

Among these instruments, for a certain number, are, under present conditions, trade unions on a non-revolutionary base. And as far as the Socialist thinks them necessary to his personal economic welfare, as far, that is, as economic pressure forces him to, he is right and justified in using them.

And when I speak of economic pressure I do not mean merely that degree of it which marks the border-line of semi-starvation. Economic pressure, it is too often forgotten, commences with the first atomic offering of economic advantage, and the degree where the individual is sensible of it and consciously influenced by it, is here or there as circumstances decide.

The critic who would "determinedly and consciously" fight the trade unions "out of existence" provides no alternative instrument for

carrying on the struggle against capitalist encroachment now. When he offers us economic organisation upon a revolutionary base he tells us that the resistance on the economic field has to cease until he has made his revolutionaries! Even the advocates of "Industrial Unionism" were not so blind as this, for they, recognising that not only the revolutionaries were necessary to the present "bargaining or higgling for better conditions," belied the "revolutionary" foundation of their organisation by leaving it open for non-revolutionaries.

The only shred of argument the anti-trade-unionist can find in support of his attitude is the plea that the trade unions are political organisations. But here again he is bereft of reason. A political organisation is an organisation composed of those who organise for the political purpose. There is no such trade union in the whole wide country. Trade unionists organise for economic reasons, not political—not even to attain economic ends by political means. If the wirepullers lead them into taking political action they do not make them political organisations, but, in the storm of dissension and disruption they arouse, prove their essentially non-political character. It takes more than a few political tricksters, battenning upon the ignorance and apathy of the membership, to constitute a trade union a political organisation, just as it required more than a few reactionaries in the Socialist Party to constitute that organisation a reactionary body.

But the whole purpose of economic organisation is a mystery to the particular type of opponent whom the present writer is combating. They say that it is impossible "at the present stage of capitalist development, for trade unions to take only economic action." How they arrive at this conclusion appears when they declare that the Socialist position "insists upon the political and economic organisation of the working class for the capture of political power."

If economic organisation is a means to the capture of political power, then it may be argued, with some show of reason, that trade unions are political organisations and therefore cannot take only political action.

But it is ridiculous to talk of economic organisation for the capture of political power. Such an object at once makes the organisation political, not economic. If men organise for the purpose of "bargaining and higgling for better conditions" by combined action in the industrial field, then their organisation is an economic one. If they organise to attain the same end by political means, then it is a political organisation as well as an economic one.

But the case of our anti-trade-unionist opponent does not come within the limits of either of these descriptions. He tells us that the "bargaining or higgling for better conditions in itself is no concern of Socialism,"—though he puts it that way to obscure the fact that he means that they are no concern of Socialists.

If he does not mean this there is no sense in his remark, for Socialism has no senses, and so can have no concerns.

As the economic struggle is no concern of the Socialist, and all the members of the economic organisation are to be Socialists, the economic organisation cannot be concerned with the economic struggle, it cannot be an economic organisation.

As the economic organisation that isn't economic has for its purpose the capture of political power, it is a political organisation. A pretty picture our opponent's tangle makes when it is straightened out.

But stay, there is one frail thread's end not yet taken up. It will be claimed, perhaps, that the organisation exists to use economic means to capture political power, and is economic. This is the only argument left.

But then what are these means? There are but two possible replies. One is the reply of the Anarchist—the General Strike. The other is the reply of the Industrial Unionist; it is that they must "SEIZE AND HOLD THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, in defiance of the armed forces," in defiance, necessarily, of the political power they desire to capture.

The Socialist position does not "insist upon the political and economic organisation of the working class for the capture of political power."

The Socialist position is that the capture of the political power must be the work of a political party, the fruit of political action. The capture

of political power is necessary to enable the economic action of taking over the means of production to be proceeded with. Therefore it is madness to say the Socialist position "insists upon the economic organisation of the working class for the capture of political power."

The Socialist position is adequately laid down in the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party thus: "The working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government." That was true when it was adopted. Let all beware of adding or taking away a word. A. E. JACOMB.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

SPEEDING THE SPED.

THE development of capitalism necessitating the constant increase of capital and the consequent increase of profit, creates a problem that outwits the capitalist in his twofold capacity of profit-monger and politician.

On the one hand there is the ever-growing tendency (caused by the concentration of capital) to reduce the cost of production, meaning a reduction of the amount paid as wages; and on the other hand an ever-increasing army of unemployed that must be dealt with or silenced.

Despite, or rather because of, the growing productivity of labour-power and the enormous increase of wealth, the poverty of the masses and the number of the workless, increase to such an extent that the politician is at his wit's end to find a way out of the difficulty. Each Parliamentary session brings forth some new mode of palliation, and each succeeding session finds the problem greater and the "solution" still more difficult to discover.

A "White Paper" issued 15.11.11 with regard to the Labour Exchanges, shows that the applications for employment during the first nine months of the year were:

Men.	Women.	Total.
910,949.	286,894.	1,197,843.
whilst the vacancies filled were:		
Men.	Women.	Total.
233,007.	91,272.	324,279.

leaving 873,564 workers without jobs!

The time has long since passed when the problem of unemployment could be waived aside with the Burnsian remark that "those without work are lazy loafers who do not want employment." To those who have lived below the surface of capitalist production the above quoted figures come as no surprise. The unemployed army does exist and no labour exchange can do anything to reduce it. On the contrary, as has been shown in these columns, the better organisation in the buying of labour-power, results in an increasing number of unemployed and tends to reduce the price of their commodity.

Why are there unemployed and why does their number increase?

The modern scientific shop management, coupled with the introduction of time-saving machinery, throws out of employ more "hands," for the simple reason that the wage paid is determined, not by the value of the product, but by the value of the labour-power of the worker—i.e., its cost of production.

Twenty years ago the wage earner produced a certain amount of wealth. To-day, with the aid of improved machinery and more scientific workshop methods, he can produce in the same time several times that amount. His wage, however, does not rise in proportion, and his purchasing power remains practically the same.

Since the worker is unable to buy back the commodities he has produced, the market becomes overstocked and the capitalist has to restrict production to somewhat balance the effective demand.

That reduction is made, not by returning to the old methods (an obvious impossibility) but by reducing the number of "hands."

Hence the unemployed.

The introduction of machinery goes on. Machines are invented and perfected. Workshops and factories are more and more efficiently managed.

Hence the increase in the army of unemployed. The capitalist is helpless to stay the constant development or to deal with the effects, and

palliatives become ineffective. Real palliation is but temporary and must react, sooner or later, to the interest of the employers; but in the main the reforms passed as measures of social alleviation simply introduce that same principle of economy and efficiency into the administration of the poor law.

As instance labour exchanges, which enable the employer to obtain, from any quarter and from every rank, just that quality and quantity of labour-power that he requires, without trouble and without waste of time.

As instance again, Old Age Pensions, which enable old paupers to remain outside the work-house, where they cost about 15s. per week to support, on a gratuity of one-third this amount.

There came into my possession recently, a pamphlet issued by a Chicago firm, advertising an instrument which, placed in any office, records the activity and efficiency of any part of the works. In the advertisers' words the "Recorder instantly and automatically records each and every instance of a machine being unnecessarily stopped.

"Instantly records every instance of inefficient operation of any of the equipment—caused by running machines at slow speed or consuming too excessive an amount of time in handling materials.

"Instantly indicates the individual machines, wherever located, which are not producing the required output.

"Automatically sets time limits for the performance of each operation, indicating each and every instance of over-consumption of time.

"Automatically sets equitable piece rates and discloses all errors in existing piece rates and
"All this at a cost to you of less than one cent per day per machine."

In the case of a wood-working machine, for instance, while the tool is working the material or the material passing through the machine, a switch is closed and a stylo marks a drum in the Recorder; but immediately the machine ceases to produce, whether it is running or not, the stylo is lifted, and so the machine operator unconsciously telegraphs the boss every minute he is producing and each minute wasted, recording at the same time the speed at which he is working.

Fifty machines can be attached and their production recorded, tabulated, and specified, every minute of the day. Machine competes with machine, and without foreman or overlooker each workman is watched. At the end of the day the chart is removed from the machine and every idle moment is placed to the account of the man working it.

The pamphleteer is brutally frank. The employee counts only as a cog. He is but a cypher in the sum—a necessary part of the working expenses. Of course, the Socialist has told you that—often.

He has said that the worker is of no more importance than the oil or the fuel—that you were simply pieces of human mechanism—SLAVES.

Is it true?

Listen to the pamphleteer. His remarks require little comment.

"The scientific, economical way of buying coal is to specify a basic price of—say, \$4.00 per ton, none acceptable of less than 9,600 B.t.u. per pound, price never to be less than \$0.173 per million B.t.u. If the coal delivered analyzes 14,440, the dealer receives \$5.00 a ton instead of \$4.00.

"Labour ought to be purchased in the same way, i.e., a basic price—an efficiency equivalent for the money paid—no labour accepted below the efficiency standard—and a premium price for all efficiency delivered in excess of the standard."

O Dignity of Labour, where art thou?
But let us proceed.

"The weakness of existing wage systems is that they are based primarily on what the man has done instead of what the machine can do. This is reverse philosophy.

"You don't hire an operator, then buy the machine to keep him employed. You buy a machine, then hire the man to keep it busy."

How true! Yet how difficult it is to inculcate that truth in the minds of those hired machines. A few more truths and I am done.

"Determine first, then, what each machine can do its maximum output when properly operated—then put it up to the operator.

"Not how much output in a given time, but how much time can be allowed for a given operation and see that it makes good.

"Do you think your Piece work system effective? Who made the piece work rates? Sort of mutual affair—you and the workman.

"But you bought the machine to get the full benefit of what that machine can produce.

"Not for a labor-saver but for intensified production, for you don't sell labor" (read labour-power) "but its product. Figure, then, not the price of labor but the value of product.

"Time, that's the costliest material in your shop. Time economy; time control: that is the particular mission of the National Time Recorder."

That is just it. Machinery is introduced to save time because time costs money; time means wages and wages must be cut down. Wages will be cut down and the employers who have seen the truth of this are those who succeed. If your labour time can be made more efficient it is worth more because it saves the hire of another fellow's time. In other words, it places him on the unemployed list.

So must things go on, and capitalism, rushing headlong forward, fall finally into the pit that it digs for itself, smothered in its own success. It will produce goods in such a short space of time that the great bulk of the people will be unemployed and it will be unable to dispose of the wealth created. But before that time something may happen.

The workers may awake! TWEL.

BAD NEWS—AWFUL NEWS

FOR THE CAPITALISTS.

New branches have been formed at Ilford (Essex) and Southend-on-Sea. For particulars see Branch Directory on back page.

Our Comrade Dawkins having gone to reside at Southend-on-Sea, lost no time in introducing the Socialist Party to his new neighbours. Propaganda meetings were started, and held regularly every Thursday evening and twice on Sundays, on the Marine Parade. Very large audiences have taken deep interest in our revolutionary teachings, while the demand for our literature has been great and gratifying. There is every indication of our newly formed branch developing vigorously and making history in 1912.

Weather permitting, the Sunday morning meetings on the Marine Parade will be continued throughout the winter. Residents and visitors interested in Socialism are also courteously invited to attend the Sunday night discussions and Branch meetings on Wednesdays, at Ashlea House School, York Road, at 8 o'clock p.m.

NOW READY, A NEW PAMPHLET.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

versus

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. Peckham,

AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM,

JUNE 1st, 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

Post Free 1/-.

THE MODERN ATLAS.

—o—o—

Like a god whose vitals grind in utter woe,
In utter woe a godlike giant grooves and groans;
Upon his brow the broods of horror glower and glow,
And Torment strikes her flaming fingers to his bones,
Crushed he creeps beneath the burden of a world,
Crushed he gropes his way athwart the black world's gloom,
Like a shattered soul to ceaseless torture hurled
By the hand of heartless doom.

* * *

Day is night and night is day upon the dark
Night-blotted tablets of his senses which receive
No lone spark of light by day nor rest to mark
When the wings of night enfold the face of eve,
Dark he creeps where neither rest nor light are given,
Tho' his broad hands spread the bed of death and birth,
Tho' his fingers shake the living light of heav'n
Through the dark ways of the earth.

* * *

Where his feet press fountains start of wimpling wine,
Where his hands touch earth heaves up her heart to feed,
Yet the face of famine fronts him on the vine,
And the fruitage of his anguish mocks his need
Tho' his sinews wear to wealth, his breath to bread,
Tho' his heart beat out its passion at the well,
Tho' the harvest of his strength the field, full fed,
Choke with surfeit fair but fell.

* * *

The sweet joy of life around him and above
Breaks from breasts that burst in gladness-throated glee;
Theme of thrush and lilt of lark and call of dove,
And languid lure of softer-singing, sweeter sea,
Men and maids who know not labour eye and ear
Glut with sensuous sight and sound as sweets that cloy;
And the ruin of their pleasure heaps the bier
Of the giant's death-struck joy.

* * *

Is there naught in all his timeless, placeless round
That may give again his unlit sockets light?
Is there naught in heaven or earth of sight or sound
For his beacon on the barren wold of night?
Must he stumble on to chaos at the wall
That his own hands raise around him as a rim
Of fell famine-seeded fruit, and fainting fall,
And the whole world fall with him?

* * *

Nay! Afar a red star climbs the stair of night,
All red-litten by the under-dawning day;
See! it feeds his heart with hope and gives him sight,
And his glad eyes gleam with increase of its ray,
Lo! it writes, red-fingered, on the night's dark face
Words that soon shall be the giant's crowning hymn
That the joy that lives by Labour's boundless grace
Yet shall live alone in him.

A. E. JACOMB.

A FIFTH EDITION.

We have to announce the publication of the Fifth Edition of the Party Manifesto. The Manifesto itself remains unchanged, but the preface has been brought up to date, necessitating the enlargement of the brochure to 24 pages. The price is still 1d., post free 1½d.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	3rd.	10th.	17th.	24th.	31st.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 J. Halls	J. Fitzgerald	A. Barker	J. E. Ree	H. Joy
Finsbury Park	3.0 T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 A. Jacobs	A. W. Pearson	C. Ginger	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns
Ilford (station)	7.30 A. Hoskyns	C. Parker	A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	F. J. Rourke
Islington, Highbury Corner	11.30 A. Hoskyns	T. W. Allen	R. Fox	C. Ginger	A. W. Pearson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 F. W. Stearn	F. Dawkins	C. Parker	J. Halls	C. Parker
"	7.30 C. Parker	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	F. J. Rourke	H. J. Halls
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. Leigh	H. Joy	A. Kohn	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald
Peckham Triangle	7.30 J. Holmes	A. Barker	A. Hoskyns	J. Holmes	J. Fitzgerald
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	H. Joy	A. Kohn	J. E. Roe
Tooting Broadway	11.30 H. Joy	A. Barker	H. Joy	H. Joy	H. Cooper
"	7.30 A. Barker	J. Holmes	F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Pearson	A. Hoskyns	C. Ginger	A. Anderson	A. Anderson
"	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	C. Parker	A. Jacobs	A. Jacobs
Walthamstow, Church Hill	8.0 A. Anderson	H. Cooper	A. Barker	H. Cooper	J. E. Roe
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	J. E. Roe	J. Halls	A. Jacobs	R. Fox	C. Ginger
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	F. Stearn	T. W. Allen
"	7.30 C. Ginger				

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m.
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8. Copenhagen St., Caledonian Rd., N.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EARLSFIELD.—J. Holmes, Sec., 124, Penwith-road, Earlsfield. Branch meets at Marsh's Coffee Room, corner of Trepcroft-st. and Garriatt-le., alternate Sats. 8-11 p.m.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.
GRAVESEND.—Communications to W. Wragg, Denton Hospital, Gravesend. Branch meets alternate Sundays. All communications to Sec.
ISLINGTON.—S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road, Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd., Holloway, N.
MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Manchester. Branch meets at Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, every 2nd and 4th Monday at 8. Public invited.
NOTTINGHAM.—All communications to branch Secretary, pro. tem., at Head office.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec., 14 Great Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W., where Branch meets Thurs., at 8.30 p.m.
PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Secy., 91, Evelina-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.
SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House (School), 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Mondays at 8.
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THORNTON HEATH.—A. McIntyre, Sec., 29, Giltland-rd., Thornton Heath.
TOOTING.—W. Walters, Sec., 7, Kenlor Road, Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Gerninge Dining Room, Tooting Junction.
TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—Communications to Secy., 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.
WATFORD.—P. Simons, Sec., 55, Church Road. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 75 Napier-rd., West Ham. Branch meets Sat. Morn. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park.
WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets

1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook rd., Wood Green.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of production and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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